

METHODIST FAMILIES c.1850-1932

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to determine whether or not, for the period c.1850-1932, Methodist families exhibited any traits which may have demarcated them from the rest of society. Evidence of Methodist family life derives from a sample of 77 subjects (both individuals and families), mainly drawn from Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism. These subjects are sub-divided into "ministerial, "officer" and "rank-and-file" categories. Personal accounts in the form of published and unpublished auto/biographies, transcripts of oral evidence, and an unpublished diary provide the main basis for a study which systematically examines childhood, courtship and marriage, "worldly" pursuits, and bereavement.

The values and practices of family life depicted by these personal accounts are compared with the promulgations of Methodist Officialdom, the latter drawn from obituaries, articles, sermons and other treatises found in Connexional publications. Comparison is also made between the beliefs and practices of subject families and those of their non-Methodist peers. In addition, Connexional policy is assessed in the light of the expectations of middle-class "respectability" in the wider world. Moreover, wherever relevant, the significance of gender, class and the rural/urban divide is highlighted.

This study concludes that, although there are indications of distinguishing traits amongst a small minority of subject families, the evidence overall does not support an argument for the distinctiveness of Methodist families for the period researched in respect of the issues addressed; that the heterogeneity of values and behaviour present within secular households is largely reflected within Methodist homes; that the Connexion's opinions relating to domesticity often conflict with the values and practices prevalent in the homes of its membership; and that, furthermore, bourgeois "respectability" and Methodist Officialdom concur on the majority of issues concerning family life.

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Chapter One

Introduction

"Methodist Families" is a deceptively simple title. Nonetheless, it immediately elicits two problematic concepts requiring clarification: firstly, what it meant to be a Methodist, and, secondly, what constituted "family" for the period under investigation ¹. In addition, such a study demands the investigation of a multiplicity of aspects of domestic life, encompassing the spiritual, social, cultural and economic.

The role of religion in the home has remained largely unexplored - generally receiving merely passing consideration in literature dealing with the impact of religious belief upon society as a whole ². Connexional historiography has also largely neglected the influence of religion in the home. For instance, Methodist historians, such as J M Turner, H D Rack, F C Pritchard, and Rupert Davies, have examined spiritual and social issues from a Connexional viewpoint, not venturing into the homes of the membership. Even those, such as Robert Moore and David Clark who have researched individual Methodist communities at a personal level, have not focussed upon family life, the former being primarily concerned with political beliefs, and the latter with belief and ritual. Moreover, it can be argued that such research provides an unbalanced picture of Methodist life. E P Thompson has criticised Moore for isolating Methodism "...from the total experience of its host community". Indeed, studies, such as those of Moore and Clark, which examine single Methodist communities in isolation, tend to stress those characteristics which are shared by the members of these societies, and so tend to imply homogeneity of attitude and behaviour throughout the Methodist people as a whole. Such research ignores the

wide diversity of influences (occasioned by considerations of social class, location, and gender) prevailing in the various local secular communities across the nation with which the Connexion's membership co-existed, influences which could serve to undermine the homogeneity of the Methodist family ³.

Religion has been sidelined in much of the "secular" writings primarily concerned with family life. Such studies tend to concentrate on social and cultural factors involved in the evolution of the domestic unit, for instance, the interaction of the family with the surrounding community, gender issues, the influence of social class, or the relevance of geographical location ⁴.

This research also elicits such considerations. When investigating the interaction of the Methodist families with the wider world, gender, social class, and geographical factors may all be relevant to a greater or lesser extent in an investigation which involves the determination of the existence (or otherwise) of any continuing behavioural or attitudinal characteristics which may have demarcated Connexional domestic life from the rest of society during the period c.1850-1932. Such an exercise also demands the examination of the links between Methodists and the non-Methodist world. To this end, the degree to which the heterogeneity of belief and practice prevailing within the secular society was mirrored within Methodist homes throughout the years covered by this research will be assessed.

However, uppermost in this thesis will be the assessment of the importance of religion in Methodist households during a period which commences in the year which witnessed the only national official enumeration of attendance at places of worship, proceeds to encompass the First World War and its aftermath, and terminates with the

reunification of the major Methodist traditions ⁵. The extent to which spiritual, as opposed to material factors, shaped family life may not only determine the degree (if any) of separation of Connexional families from the non-Methodist world, but will, it is hoped, also offer a fresh perspective on the history of the family in the wider social context.

In discussing the methodological issues connected with this thesis, consideration will be first given to an evaluation of the primary and secondary sources available to the historian. This will be followed by an assessment of those sociological and psychological approaches which may be utilised in the research of family life. Finally, the analytical framework of the thesis will be laid out. This will comprise of a discussion of the sources used to provide secular and religious contexts; the distribution and numerical strength of the Methodist movement; an analysis of the definitions of Methodism employed at both an institutional and personal level; the categorisation of Methodists for whom evidence is available; and a definition of "respectability" and "family". The chapter concludes with a statement of the thesis' overall aims and outline.

Primary and Secondary Sources : Their Nature and Interpretation

Biographies and autobiographies (37 of the former and 55 of the latter) will be used as major primary sources of evidence ⁶. Though these two genres possess different modes of authorship and, therefore, perspective, both may supply rich detail of domestic living. As Janet Oppenheim contends, "the specific biography both highlights what is unique about its subject and confirms what is characteristic of the larger group" ⁷. This is a view which applies equally to the

autobiography. Indeed, in his study of working-class autobiography, David Vincent concludes that this genre reveals much about those who have not written about their lives, "Projecting a pencil of light into the darkness of unspoken memories of men and women whose lives were conditioned by the same social experience", these writings not only relate events, but also how these happenings impacted upon the teller. The working man no longer appears in a "...monochromatic glare of a riot, or passing organization or movement, now ..[he is]...seen as a man who received a certain education, went to work....is now trying to raise a family, is in prosperity, in debt,...has accompanying beliefs and interests...and has a future which has already happened" ⁸. But such an assertion must acknowledge the many facets of this evolution. Liz Stanley contends, "'the autobiographical past' is actually peopled by a succession of selves as the writer grows, develops, and changes" ⁹, a particularly apt observation when investigating subjects who possibly underwent spiritual as well as social and physical change during their lives.

Postmodernist theory further encourages notions of fragmentation by reducing past experience to a "series of pure and unrelated presences in time", present experiences, as presented by mass media, vividly overwhelming all else: "The immediacy of events and the sensationalism of the spectacle become the stuff of which consciousness is forged" ¹⁰. "Identity becomes a 'moveable feast': formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us" ¹¹. This deconstructionalist argument is presented in connection with modern mass media. Nevertheless, it may have some relevance to the period under investigation in the light of possible influences of widely available written material of the time ¹². This contention is relevant in respect of not only Connexional literature, but also of any secular

publications which may have invaded Methodist homes and influenced the attitudes and values of family members.

Examination of the period c.1850-1932 also elicits consideration of physical conditions and social attitudes with which the working-class autobiographer was forced to contend, since his or her "surrounding cultural systems" were rife with class consciousness and prejudice. As Regenia Gagnier argues, "In conditions of long work hours, crowded housing, and inadequate light, it was difficult enough to contemplate themselves, but they also had to justify themselves as writers worthy of the attention of others" ¹³. Any feelings of social inferiority in the working-class author could result in a reluctance to reveal details of personal and family life, deemed by the writer as unworthy for consideration by the readership. If present, such unwillingness to throw light upon certain aspects of living would impede investigation of the degree to which values and attitudes could have differentiated working-class Methodist families from the wider community.

In fact, many Methodist autobiographies, including those by middle-class subjects, begin with an apology for the ordinariness of the writer (a phenomenon which may, according to William Adams, erode differentiation between such authors, thus designating them, "social atoms", which made up the undifferentiated "masses" ¹⁴). For instance, Robert Richardson confesses, "I have not written the story of my life because I think there's anything special or wonderful about it" ¹⁵. E Benson Perkins attributes the idea for writing his autobiography to friends, declaring "It never occurred to me that my life called for a record" ¹⁶.

Some subjects humbly reject any notion of publication for their works. As William George Elliott declares, "I wondered if I could write

something to pass the hours", a story for family eyes only ¹⁷. Others, like Richardson and Cliff Willetts, claim modestly to write at the request of friends, for the latter, having already written one volume of autobiography for this reason, embarks upon a second in response to the popular demand, "Goo on Cliff, write another" ¹⁸. S J Tyrell confesses that age, lack of mobility and distance from the local record office all militate against historical accuracy, thus, "This is not written for historians; it is for my own kith and kin and for the man in the street" ¹⁹.

However, such apparently unpretentious motives for writing may thinly veil a monumental vanity, exemplified in Joseph Arch, who declares in the foreword of his autobiography that, though he had rejected all suggestion he should write this work, "When,the illustrious and noble lady whose name adorns the title-page [namely, the Countess of Warwick, who writes the preface to the book] did me the great and unexpected honour to come forward, and most generously offer to edit the work, I could no longer resist" ²⁰.

John Burnett points out that some autobiographers are motivated by the wish to leave a record of a less materialistic (and, so perhaps, by implication, a more idealistic) age to succeeding generations ²¹. Indeed, this attempt to present moralistic and idealistic examples based upon past values is apparent among Methodists, such as Margaret McCarthy, who, born in the 1900s and writing in the 1950s, declares:

"It seems to me that in the story of this, my revolting generation, there might be hidden some sign which, if we could find it would point a clear way in the treacherous, complicated maze of life and direct us towards the understanding and peace we craved, but have so disastrously failed to achieve" ²².

Others also declare the intent to make disclosure of a past era, but in a more passive vein. Basil Willey, born 1897 and writing a decade

later than McCarthy, desires to reveal his experience of living through the past "unparalleled and tremendous" sixty years, but describes himself as "a scholar and recluse" who "has always been withdrawn, detached, uncomplicated: a spectator rather than participator" ²³. But, whether from a participatory or passive stance, any contrast of attitudes and values made between successive generations of Methodists may help bring into a sharper focus those changes in family life which took place during the period covered by this thesis.

Carol Dyhouse suggests that the novel is more revealing than autobiography about family life, so possibly, as an entity of greater complexity, it is more likely to display ambiguities in attitudes towards this aspect of existence ²⁴. Perhaps, by removing events (at least nominally) from the realm of the author's experience, the novel may provide a less emotionally charged setting for the exploration of sensitive or taboo subjects.

Indeed, reluctance to reveal certain intimate aspects of family life survives among Methodist autobiographers long after the period covered by this thesis. Writing as late as 1979, Richardson makes no secret of his reluctance to make public details of his courtship of his wife, which took place in the 1930s ²⁵. Although such aversions may arise in connection with any aspect of family life, they may, indeed, occur more frequently in those areas which involve sexual relationships, such as courtship and marriage, thus making their investigation particularly problematic.

In fact, such reticence is exhibited even in those documents not intended for publication. For instance, in his diaries Thomas Wright makes little mention of his wife's pregnancies before the birth of his children ²⁶. Nevertheless, such silences provide, as Vincent asserts in

relation to working-class autobiography, "eloquent testimony to certain fundamental attitudes towards the nature of working-class family life"²⁷, an observation which, as in the case of Wright, also applies to middle-class sources.

Problems are also inherent in biography, demonstrated by Ira Bruce Nadel's comment on the genre for the period 1850 to the 1980s: "biography is a complex narrative as well as a record of an individual's life, a literary process as well as a historical product"²⁸, an entity which "triumphs over experience by structuring the confusions of daily life into patterns of continuity and progress" ²⁹.

Indeed, throughout the period of this investigation, many of the Methodist biographies examined exhibit a structuring or rationalisation which emphasises the personal motivation and inner strength of the individual at the expense of mere "facts", a trait typical of the "psychobiography" ³⁰. This stress upon human [inter]action proves relevant both to accounts of individuals and group biographies (the latter relating to individual families, and also to the wider Methodist community) in which individuals exhibit "various shared themes" which "reinforce" and "integrate" their lives ³¹. For instance, W E Moss' biography of Elizabeth Lewis offers scant information concerning his subject's domestic life, but rather emphasises her work in the field of Temperance, a "theme" which found strong support amongst her fellow Methodists ³², and which also proved of considerable significance in relation to the family lives of several of the subjects examined in the course of this research. M K Ashby presents her work as a response to the need for a record, justification and defence of village Methodist life, declaring that Methodist labourers of the nineteenth century set an example of "forgiveness, restraint and hope" in the face of opposition from "all those who claimed superiority over them" ³³. But,

no matter how worthy such an intention, inherent in these sentiments is the danger of overly strong emphasis being placed upon those values and attitudes shared by Methodists which separated them from the surrounding community. Consequently, there exists also the possibility of the counter tendency to subordinate any characteristics common to families both within and without the movement, thus hindering accurate assessment of the extent to which Methodist family life mirrored that of the wider society.

Other motivations for the production of biography, according to Nadel, include dissatisfaction with existing biographies of a subject, a process possibly stimulated by the uncovering of new evidence, the assimilation of which may require "the reconstruction of prior theory and the re-evaluation of prior fact..." ³⁴. Thus, Nadel perceives biography as continually "unsettling" the past, each new version altering the configuration of a life. Consequently, in such works, it is wise to mark the importance of recognizing the signature of the biographer as well as that of the subject ³⁵. One potential example of such "unsettling" occurs in relation to works written about the Macdonald family. The biographies of Frederick Macdonald and A W Baldwin, both of whom belong to the family, provide images of certain family members which contrast sharply with their portrayals in the later work of the "outsider" biographer, Ina Taylor ³⁶.

Of course, neither autobiography nor biography is representative of society as a whole. As Burnett points out, "working people have not been among the most numerous autobiographers". Foremost among the motivations for the writing of diaries or life stories by the working class was the belief that the author had to communicate an important message, such as personal triumph over misfortunes, a rise from rags to riches through self-education, thrift and concern for the betterment of

mankind. Also common were accounts of redemption from sin to salvation³⁷, a finding echoed by Linda H Peterson in her examination of spiritual autobiographies of the nineteenth century. Though originality had begun to seep into these works, many "often repeated the conventional forms of self-interpretation". Lives were still a journey "from bondage to the promised land, albeit a promised land with a different topography" ³⁸. This format, though not relevant to accounts employed in this research of those Methodists not holding offices within the chapel, is apparent amongst the autobiographies and biographies which relate to those more closely associated with the movement, in whose writings the readership is regularly offered "product and proof of their greatness" ³⁹. Such a trend is often at the expense of supplying detail about family life, as illustrated by the autobiography of Joseph Barker who writes overwhelmingly about spiritual struggles. In this work, Barker's family members are merely mentioned in connection with their attempts to bring him back to Christianity in periods of faltering faith ⁴⁰. Similarly, the great majority of biographies in Connexional magazines, which mainly appear in the form of obituaries, detail spiritual experience at the expense of personal relationships.

Furthermore, although both autobiography and biography percolate down to the working class, they generally relate to its more literate members. In addition, as far as the nineteenth century is concerned, the majority of such writings have men as their subject. Patricia Branca has described the history of women as "the history of the inarticulate" ⁴¹. Kathleen Barry asserts that patriarchal history, by denying or diminishing women's historical context, has rendered them "ahistorical", a state which is "more than reductive", resulting in "empty spaces in interpretation, areas replaced by essentializing motherhood and sexuality" ⁴². Even for those who do record their lives,

Carolyn G Heilbrun contends that, "Well into the twentieth century, it continued to be impossible for women to admit into their autobiographical narratives the claim of achievement, the admission of ambition, the recognition that accomplishment was neither luck nor the result of the efforts or generosity of others" ⁴³.

Nevertheless, autobiographies produced by such women may offer a different perspective on events of the past, since from their subordinate position in society women may more fully reveal the tensions therein ⁴⁴. Moreover, those writings not intended for publication, such as the journals of Helen McKenny and Ruth Slate, might manifest a frankness of expression and opinion, which drastically veers from traditional expectations. In addition, Heilbrun's contention cannot be universally applied to published personal accounts produced by women. For example, the title of Hannah Mitchell's autobiography, which describes her as "Suffragette and Rebel", by no means promises to present its subject as a modest female without ambition ⁴⁵.

A major problem common to both autobiography and biography is the subjectivity of the writer, which may result in various aspects of events being ignored or summarily passed over. The biographer or autobiographer is "one singular commentator who selects the evidence presented, decides what to include and exclude, which of the friends and lovers and enemies and acquaintances are significant and which are not" ⁴⁶, a not unexpected phenomenon to attribute to an author viewing life through his/her own consciousness ⁴⁷. Alan Shelson suggests that, even in those biographies which involve patient research and "monumental" organisation of the minutest detail of a life, objectivity may prove elusive - "...is it possible...that the author can stand back as he assembles his material and look at what amounts to a marriage with his subject unaffected by the closeness of the relationship?" ⁴⁸

In those Connexional obituaries written by a relative (sometimes a grieving spouse) or a close friend, feelings of loss and affection on the part of the author may prevent any revelation of the shortcomings in the personality of the deceased ⁴⁹. Again, in non-Connexional biographies written by family members (such as the works of Frederick Macdonald and A W Baldwin) affection may help inform the characters of those portrayed within their pages ⁵⁰. Similarly, though William Potter, biographer and long-standing friend of the evangelist Thomas Jackson, staunchly declares, "The story in this book is in no degree coloured", he then proceeds to undermine his credibility by sentimentally describing the birthday of his subject as "a natal day of much happiness to poor people" ⁵¹, a comment clearly illustrating the potential pitfalls inherent in what Nadel terms "dramatic/expressive" biographies in which the author and subject share a specialised relationship ⁵².

Partisanship is openly admitted in some works. Denis Crane, biographer of James Flanagan, unashamedly confesses, "...a little hero-worship might be pardoned in one who writes of the man to whom he owes some of the noblest aspirations of his life" ⁵³. Conversely, determined to resist the temptation to flatter his subject, and wishing to present him in a way which enables the reader to make informed value judgements of character for him/herself, Gordon S Wakefield, biographer and former student of Robert Newton Flew, declares:

"Biography must not denigrate into hagiography and faults must not be concealed. But they must not be writ large. The reader should be enabled to enter into the subject's mind and world, to see situations from his point of view, and yet to retain in his own moral judgement and condemn what is wrong for himself without the author's perpetual strictures" ⁵⁴.

However, in spite of this stated aim, Wakefield's work, like other Methodist biographies which form part of this thesis, may be said to

fall into Nadel's "interpretive/analytical" category, in which authors act as "advocates pressing for the prosecution or defence of their subjects" ⁵⁵.

Even in the autobiography the whole "truth" may prove elusive. Geoffrey Mitchell, grandson and editor of the memoirs of Hannah Mitchell, though denying that "any substantial" alterations have been made by himself to the original script, admits the text had been "arranged" in parts ⁵⁶. More blatantly, the memoirs of Richard Cook were "corrected" after his death by a nephew who endeavoured to make the family appear more "respectable" ⁵⁷. Moreover, as William Lax reveals, the autobiographer him or herself may experience difficulty in presentation of a life in its entirety, "Our knowledge of ourselves is, at best, imperfect, and our vision of the truth may be strangely blurred" ⁵⁸. Indeed, as memories falter, error and omission may be unintentional, for as Liz Stanley asserts:

"Memory's lane is a narrow, twisting and discontinuous route back through the broad plains of the past, leading to a self we can never remember but only construct through the limited and partial evidence available to us - half hints of memory, photographs, memorabilia and other people's remembrances. Autobiography and biography are as one here" ⁵⁹.

This elusiveness is echoed in Mark Freeman's denial of the self as a material entity: "It is therefore nothing save what we ourselves conjure up in those moments of reverie when we wish to make sense of experience" ⁶⁰.

As with written primary sources, there are many factors which may affect the content of oral evidence, which, in recent decades, has provided vivid images of working-class family life:

"The written history, which gathers dust on the shelves of the Bodleian library and in the secondhand book shops, is different from the spoken history, whose living volumes tell their tale in the terraced cottages of Preston and walk through the grey streets to the Post Office with a pension book every Tuesday" ⁶¹.

Oral evidence can build bridges between major processes of change and the actual experiences of specific social groups. As Brian Elliott asserts, "We learn about the values and beliefs that guided their actions, the salient ambitions, aspirations, and strategies that influenced them" ⁶².

Nevertheless, problems are inherent in the employment of this source. Considerations such as the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, the nature and structure of the questions asked, and the quality of memory of elderly subjects can all serve to undermine the value of such evidence. Stanley Chapman reports that his biography of Jesse Boot relies heavily upon the oral evidence of his subject's staff: "It is a pleasure to record that the enthusiasm of the Chairman, Directors and Staff of Boots has cheered me onward at every stage of preparation of this book" ⁶³. This comment suggests a possible dearth of objectivity in the data gathered, occasioned by a specialised relationship between sources and subject. Moreover, some of those providing oral evidence may have been very young at the time they knew Jesse Boot, and when asked about happenings which occurred in their 'youth, may have given a young person's interpretation of events (a perspective which may also apply to written autobiographies, being also produced "as from the far side of a deep ravine" ⁶⁴). Furthermore, the fact that Chapman's work was written over 40 years after his subject's death possibly questions the accuracy of the reminiscences of his older interviewees.

On the other hand, the memories of the elderly are not necessarily distorted by time. Richard Sykes contends:

"...the evidence of psychological studies of memory substantiate the common-sense observation that the memories of the elderly are particularly reliable over the long term, or, at worst less unreliable

than short-term memory. Indeed, in some respects the distance in time can be an advantage, reducing the risks of wilful distortion" ⁶⁵.

L O Mink emphasises the importance of accounts produced after the event which may contain important subsequent knowledge, thus maximising the "retrospective intelligibility" of historical reconstruction ⁶⁶, a contention made in respect of written accounts, but which may also apply to oral reminiscences.

However, distortions may arise when transferring the spoken word to the written page. John Springhall asserts, "It is one of the temptations of oral evidence... to make selective use of evidence to corroborate a particular interpretation" ⁶⁷, a temptation which must be resisted. Raphael Samuel points out that, by simply by omitting pauses and repetitions, "weight and balance can easily be upset". Thus, questioning and editing may produce "forced consequences" ⁶⁸. Indeed, Thea Thompson deplores the inadequacy of the tape recorder as an instrument for recalling the experiences of many subjects, as it fails to "do justice to those who communicate more readily with the language of gesture, eyes and body than with words" ⁶⁹.

Nevertheless, language is a crucial factor in the evaluation of both written and oral primary sources. Though extolling the virtues of working-class writings, Vincent concedes that the cramped and stilted style of much working-class prose may mask the real dynamism and spontaneity of their lives ⁷⁰. Language must be viewed in the context of its time, and difficulties in interpretation may be magnified as the historian delves deeper into the past. But language must not merely be assessed in lexical terms, as meanings may shift over time. In fact, Jacques Derrida asserts that meanings may be "fluid" even within the contemporary context. Words "...always carry off echoes of other meanings which they trigger off, despite one's best efforts to close

meaning down" ⁷¹. Consequently, the manner of delivery must be examined, and also the prevailing attitude towards its deliverer, two factors which may frustrate accurate assessment of source material. G Walley asserts that the "vectorial" activity of language is essential to comprising the drama of a piece ⁷². He emphasises that the way in which words, phrases, and images, used by the writer, reach out towards the reader's own personal association and experience may be vital to the way in which concepts are interpreted. Moreover, emotive language may be used intentionally in speech or text to arouse strong unfocused emotion ⁷³.

The danger of distracting the researcher from the goal of objective analysis by such a ruse is magnified in this investigation, since in Methodist autobiography and biography the language employed in the reporting of commonplace family emotions, such as joy, hope, or grief, can be distorted by spiritual phraseology and imagery. Consequently, it is vital to note the importance Walley places on attempting to analyse the mode of delivery in order to assess the "imprint" of intention of the author ⁷⁴. This consideration, though relevant to all aspects of family life, has a particular significance to the analysis of reactions to bereavement in the family.

Besides autobiography and biography, the other contemporary data to be utilised in this study will take the form of articles (mainly found in Connexional magazines and newspapers), sermons and other treatises (which may be either separately published, or found in Connexional magazines). These sources will be utilised to examine the "official" view of family life. Evaluation of the reliability of these publications may be assisted by assessing them in the light of criticism of more secular representations of officialdom - such documentation ranging from that produced by the loftiest bureaucracy

(for instance, government reports and statistics) to more popular sources of information and advice (as found in manuals and magazines) - the tones of all of which find echoes in the Methodist publications employed in this study.

Bernard Semmel criticises Marxist social historians, like E P Thompson, for laying too little emphasis on government statistics and other "elitist" sources when analysing conditions and events ⁷⁵. On the other hand, Shorter describes the historian "at pains to disentangle officialdom's contempt for the popular orders from the popular order's efforts to manipulate officialdom" when examining administrative reports and "statistical" descriptions of bureaucrats ⁷⁶. In addition, Benny Green bemoans the fact that the working class is often "sentimentalised by the guilt racked or stigmatised by the pietistic" middle-class social observer in such documentation ⁷⁷. Stigmatisation of the working class may, indeed, be detected in the sermons and treatises written and published by Methodist officialdom. Such publications, though nominally produced for the edification of all members of the Connexion, often in practice implicitly admonished the working class.

Although Leonore Davidoff asserts that they may be sometimes dismissed as "sheer fantasy-peddling for profit" ⁷⁸, manuals prove informative and influential sources, especially in relation to female family members. Branca contends that her sample of nineteenth-century household manuals gives representative images of middle-class lifestyles, though, she maintains, it is difficult to determine which image is most representative, there being an inevitable gap between probability and proof ⁷⁹. Similarly, informative articles on family life found in Methodist publications may reflect an ideal rather than the reality.

Popular magazines and other periodicals also present powerful images of family life. Sally Mitchell found that fiction in Penny Weekly magazines of the 1840s and 50s (whose readership comprised primarily the skilled working class and lower middle class, "...the silent, respectable, aspiring, forgotten women of the period" ⁸⁰) appeared to provide both a confirmation of the readers' own values, and an escape from what was unsatisfactory in their lives. However, it was difficult to determine which values were reflections of those of the readership, and which were imposed by the (middle-class) editors, publishers and authors. In her study of 1850s and 1860s periodicals, intended for a middle-class "close-knit and energetic feminist community", Philippa Levine found that the content of these publications was sometimes dictated by ownership, and the quality of articles could vary according to funds available to pay contributors ⁸¹.

Similarly, although Charlotte Bronte's condemnation of Methodist magazines as "...full of miracles and apparitions and preternatural warnings, ominous dreams and frenzied fascinations" ⁸² may be considered overly dismissive, their reliability as sources of information concerning family life, may be, as in the case of the secular press, open to question. Indeed, the stern hand of middle-class censorship was inherent in many nineteenth-century Methodist publications. Arthur E Gregory recalled of his father, Benjamin, sometime editor of publications including *The Christian Miscellany*, *The Sunday School Magazine*, *The City Road Magazine*, and *The Methodist Magazine*, during the latter half of the century: "My father's view of an Editor's duties and responsibilities were those of the old school...He abridged ruthlessly, and exercised the powers of a literary and theological censor ruthlessly" ⁸³. Such a policy would thus ensure that, at least to the end of the nineteenth century, the "official" face of the Methodist family, as portrayed in such publications, would be in a firm

traditionalist mould. Because of this all pervading censorship, Connexional biographies taken from the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine* and the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* are to be considered as "official" sources, compared to the "unofficial" or "personal" accounts which are either unpublished or published outside the pages of these Connexional periodicals.

However, a conservative approach was not the monopoly of Connexional publications. Into the twentieth century, advocacy of traditional modes of family life was still rife in many secular magazines ⁸⁴. Some of these publications exhibited ambivalence towards societal values. In her investigation of working- and middle-class girls' magazines for the period 1920-50 Penny Tinkler detected an underlying tension between the need, on the one hand, to placate patriarchal interests which sought to promote traditional unequal gender relations (particularly in marriage) and, on the other hand, a wish to satisfy the growing desire of the readership for independence ⁸⁵. Similarly, in the pages of Methodist magazines, articles display a certain ambivalence, as issues on which hitherto the Connexion had taken a traditionalist stance begin to be presented in a more liberal light. However, such shifts suggest motivation by pragmatism rather than theological principle.

Whether using official or personal sources, researchers can be further hampered by the relative scarcity of primary materials, even when dealing with the lives of public figures. For instance, F M Leventhal, biographer of Arthur Henderson, complains of a scarcity of resources, a result of his subject never keeping a diary or engaging in voluminous correspondence ⁸⁶. This problem may be magnified as one delves back further into time, evidence being accidentally discarded, or even purposely destroyed.

Secondary sources, especially those employed in establishing the historiographical context of this study, also present problems to the researcher. As in the case of primary material, the writer may well be guided by the bias of his or her own experiences and also that of his or her contemporaries' attitudes. For instance, Lois Banner and Jill Roe both question the widely accepted feminist interpretation of women's history as that of passive victims of a patriarchal tyranny, an approach which, as they point out, ignores the dynamics of power relationships, and the wide diversity of women's experiences ⁸⁷ - a contention particularly pertinent to the investigation of the hierarchy of authority within a family, especially the balance of power existing between spouses. Indeed, postmodernist thought also refutes such historical dichotomies as male/female: "Such views easily fall into mystifications about male rationality and female intuition, masculine clear thinking as opposed to feminine emotional thinking" ⁸⁸.

In addition, researchers can be frustrated by the scarcity of secondary sources about a particular aspect under investigation. For instance, although some works on family life nominally encompass the period of the First World War (though many stop at 1914, or deal only with the interwar period), few appear to go into any detail about developments in domesticity during the hostilities ⁸⁹.

Sociological and Psychological Approaches which may be employed in the Research of Family Life

The construction of this thesis is further challenged by the problems inherent in considering the interaction between family and social change, a phenomenon termed by Tamara K Hareven the "great unknown" in family history ⁹⁰. Nevertheless, although this is a historical study

which sets out to chart changes in family life throughout a period of more than 80 years, the social sciences offer a variety of approaches which prove useful tools in the assessment of the wide diversity of experiences to which families, both within and outside the Connexion, were subjected ⁹¹. Such methodologies encompass a "holistic" approach which lays emphasis on the influence of the whole over the individual; action which stresses the role of the individual; and interactionist thinking which seeks to highlight the ways in which actors interact with systems ⁹².

Percy S Cohen dismisses the notion of change being exclusively linked with any single social theory, but, nevertheless, presents several concepts ⁹³ which possibly provide clues to explaining the changes which took place in Methodist family life over the period covered by this research. For instance, he denies that technological theories can uniquely account for social change, as the latter often takes place without technological change and vice versa. Similarly, economic forces (though they may play an important part in Methodist family life) are unlikely sole agents for change, as other forces, such as political and ideational influences should be considered. Moreover, although political and ideational forces may be contributory factors for or against change, accompanying material factors are also likely to play a part.

This alliance of idealism and materialism is echoed by Max Weber's contention that ideologies are not mere functions or reflections of material circumstances or interests: "It is not our thesis that the specific nature of a religion is simply a 'function' of the social situation of the stratum which appears as its characteristic bearer" ⁹⁴. Conversely, Weber also rejects the opposite extreme, that social circumstances have no influence upon religious values: "Not ideas, but

material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct" ⁹⁵. But, such a partnership between the spiritual and the secular may serve to undermine what Durkheim terms "the bipartite division of the whole universe" - into profane and sacred - "as two worlds between which there is nothing in common" ⁹⁶.

Both the ideological and the material are possible influences on the Methodist family. As Clifford Geertz asserts, "Ideology bridges the gap between things as they are and as one would have them be, thus ensuring the performance of roles that might otherwise be abandoned in despair or apathy" ⁹⁷. It comes to the fore in the inculcation of morality and standards of behaviour, particularly in relation to those values and practices which may have served to knit together the members of the individual Methodist family and also those of the wider chapel community. Moreover, ideology is a likely factor in the promotion of self-improvement, which, in turn, can result in greater material prosperity for the individual and his or her family. Such secular attainment manifests itself not only in the physical comforts enjoyed within the home, but also possibly affects the spiritual values of the household, even to the extent of undermining those beliefs and practices which serve to demarcate Methodist families from society at large.

Cohen denies that conflict *per se* between different parts of the social system may cause change, since this notion ignores the possibility of compromise. Nevertheless, he asserts that the intensification of conflict may be an agent for change, or, conversely, lead to opposition to prevent change ⁹⁸. The significance of this concept becomes apparent in the investigation of the links between the responses of Methodists and those of the wider society in relation to bereavement during the First World War.

Closely allied with notions of conflict is the "malintegration" theory, which explains change in terms of incompatible pressures or demands of a society or culture, namely, "if actions in one sphere inhibit those in another then, one or other must change" ⁹⁹. Inconsistencies may be a result of tensions existing between personality and the demands made upon it by social institutions. Similarly, incompatibilities can arise between the role expectations of the individual as opposed to the general norms laid down by society. But, as Cohen points out, incompatibilities need not necessarily result in complete change in any party, as flexibility and personal interpretation allow for varying amounts of change in different societies or social sectors. Moreover, if roles are sufficiently flexible, there is room for variation in individual conduct without accompanying institutional change.

Investigation of any incompatibility or conflict existing between Connexional, societal and personal Methodist values, attitudes and practices forms a major theme of this thesis, an exercise which encompasses all aspects of family life throughout the period of this research. It is important to determine if any flexibility or pragmatism is shown by the individual Methodist or the Connexion in an attempt to reconcile differing points of view, or, conversely, if developments in family life take place despite irreconcilable differences.

The adaptation theory, involving the individual household or the Connexion adapting or adjusting to the external environment, is also an essential concept when considering developments in Methodist family life. Moreover, adaptation is closely related to the cultural interaction theory, whereby change or acceleration of change occurs when two cultures interact. In this way the culture of the Methodist

home, or even the Connexion itself, might be affected by, or even overwhelmed, by secular forces. This research sets out to determine to what extent, if any, the wide diversity of attitude and behaviour prevailing throughout secular society during the period c.1850-1932 served to undermine any notions of homogeneity among Methodist families, making them subject to the same variety of experiences faced by those within the non-Methodist world.

The concept of heterogeneity is fostered by considering the changes within the family structure in a fragmentary light. For Ernesto Laclau's concept of "dislocation" promulgates the replacement of the centre of a structure by a "plurality of power centres" ¹⁰⁰. This notion may prove to be relevant in relation to the investigation of the hierarchy of authority within the Methodist family (especially when applied to the balance of power between spouses), the responsibility for inculcation of morality in the young, and certain aspects of filial duty.

Psychological factors also prove relevant to the investigation of the Methodist family. For instance, acknowledgement of the immense emotional charge inherent in domestic relationships is vital, especially in the investigation of inculcation of morality and attitudes towards bereavement. As Theodore Zeldin asserts, emotions may act as a thread linking relationships, actions and attitudes towards all aspects of daily life ¹⁰¹.

However, psychological developmental concepts are often hampered by the "parochially acultural and ahistorical" assumption that human life courses and relationships transcend both culture and history in their universality ¹⁰². Each society wields its own morality, a concept promulgated by the postmodernist relativist Jean-Francois Lyotard, who

denies the existence of cross-cultural, and cross-era concepts of truth and validity ¹⁰³.

B W Sheehan maintains that it is vital to avoid "historical atomism", the analysis of events in terms of simple isolated elements, resulting in brief glimpses of separate conflicts and actions, leading to possible caricatures of persons and events ¹⁰⁴. Indeed, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, some historians have been criticised for being too narrow in their approach ¹⁰⁵. Therefore, although the accuracy of contextual reconstructions would possibly be questioned by Lyotard and his ilk, it is essential to incorporate into the analytical framework of this thesis contemporary secular and (both Methodist and non-Methodist) religious backcloths of attitudes and happenings. By this procedure the researcher might avoid "the displacement of moral judgement by a supercilious righteousness" ¹⁰⁶ - an easy pitfall when assessing concepts of an emotive type, such as family relationships.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (i) Sources used to construct a Secular Context

The period chosen for this research is one remarkable for the dynamism, intensity and variety of social change in the secular world. For instance, it witnessed more than a three-fold increase in real incomes ¹⁰⁷, an immense expansion in educational opportunities ¹⁰⁸, legislation intended to foster the empowerment of women ¹⁰⁹, and the upheavals occasioned by the First World War ¹¹⁰. A necessarily detailed secular societal context, depicting as wide a range of relevant aspects of family life as possible, is required for this thesis, one which highlights the diversity of ways in which such developments impacted upon the domestic living of those both within and outside the Methodist

movement. Considerations of gender, social class and, where appropriate, location, must be integral to this dynamic framework. Such a background is provided by an increasingly rich historiography including authors such as F M L Thompson, Paul Thompson, Elizabeth Roberts, Carl Chinn, Leonore Davidoff, Patricia Branca, F B Smith, Ellen Ross, Carol Dyhouse, Jane Lewis, Ginger Frost, Mary Lyndon Shanley, and Lee Holcombe.

In his overview of Victorian society F M L Thompson charts the changes in family life during the era, providing a valuable insight into the interaction of attitudes and behaviour across the social spectrum. Paul Thompson's work gives central place to ordinary life experience, highlighting what he considers to be the most important dimensions of social change in the early twentieth century. Roberts and Chinn supply rich detail of working-class existence (in the north-west of England and Birmingham respectively) for the last decades of the nineteenth and the first four decades of the twentieth centuries. Both of these studies employ oral testimony as a main source, and reveal the pivotal role played by working-class women within their families and wider communities. Davidoff and Branca focus upon the lives of the upper and middle classes in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Davidoff stresses the importance played by marriage in defining both the role and status of women within the upper echelons of society. Branca rejects any notion of the middle-class wife as merely "ornamental", emphasising instead her role as decision maker, responsible for the management of the household. Smith proves an excellent source of information concerning the nation's health for the period 1830-1910, his work following the path of the life course, from birth to old age. Some writings concentrate upon particular aspects of family life. For instance, Ross and Lewis investigate both the domestic and public spheres in their provision of essential insights into working-class

motherhood of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Frost, Davidoff, Shanley, Dyhouse, and Holcombe paint a detailed picture of the social and legal inequalities suffered by women during the Victorian and Edwardian periods ¹¹¹.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (ii) Sources used to construct a Religious Context.

Connexional influences prevailing within the Methodist family must be viewed against the influence of religion in general on society. The importance of religion on society is emphasised by C E Stipe's contention, that it may be seen both as a means of making statements about the social order, and also as an agency for the expression of the values of society ¹¹². To this end a commentary on the changes in religious beliefs and practices, and the influence of religion in determining social behaviour during the period in question is provided by authors including Hugh McLeod, Geoffrey Rowell, Michael Wheeler, D W Bebbington, Ian Bradley, John Wigley, Davies, Rack, Turner, C D Field, Pritchard, Moore and Clark ¹¹³.

McLeod provides a valuable insight into the changing patterns of religious observance in the Anglican, Nonconformist and Roman Catholic denominations throughout England for the period 1850-1914. The writings of Rowell and Wheeler impart an understanding of nineteenth-century Christian eschatology. Bebbington examines developments taking place within the Evangelical movement during the whole period investigated by this thesis. Wigley supplies some insight into the Victorian Sunday, whereas Bradley contributes more generally to the construction of a backcloth to Evangelical family life, especially in the area of childhood.

In addition to works which analyse broader religious developments, the writings of various Methodist historians will be utilised in order to provide a Connexional context to this thesis. Davies, Rack and Turner provide a comprehensive doctrinal background, and give some insight into changing attitudes of the Wesleyan Connexion towards the wider society. Rack and Turner (along with Bebbington) monitor the progression of social changes within the movement. The former two historians also depict the organisational changes which took place within the Connexion. Educational policies are mainly assessed by Pritchard. More localised pictures of Methodist communities are provided by Moore, who examines Methodism in the coalfields of the north-east, and Clark, whose work provides a valuable insight into folk religion in the North Yorkshire village of Staithes.

This thesis will utilise the above secular and religious contextual sources in its two approaches, termed "configurational" and "causal"¹¹⁴. The former involves examination of vertical slices of the society and culture - "transcending 'wholeness' at moments in time". The latter adopts a linear approach of evolution and change during a period delineated at one extreme by the mid-nineteenth century religious census and terminated by the reunification of the major Methodist traditions, a time during which Methodism underwent significant changes in terms of its nature and numerical strength.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (iii) Key Concepts :
Methodism - The Geographical Distribution of the Movement.

The geographical distribution of the Methodist movement may be regarded in two possible ways: by region, or more generally by

investigation of a rural/urban divide. The former is aptly reflected by the 1851 Religious Census which revealed that chapel attendance often outnumbered that of the Anglican Church in Cornwall, in a narrow belt running through Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely to the Wash, in much of the North Midlands, East Lancashire, Yorkshire and the North East. Church and Chapel ran neck and neck in much of East Anglia and the East Midlands, in parts of the North Midlands, and industrialised areas of North Somerset, North Wiltshire and South Gloucestershire.

Methodism was strong in the north of England, in the West and North Midlands and Cornwall. The Wesleyans, besides being the largest of the Nonconformist bodies, were also the most widespread, being the strongest form of dissent in most of England north of the Trent, and having strongholds in Lincolnshire, the Black Country, Cornwall, Bedfordshire, Kent, the Isle of Man, and the Isle of Wight. Primitive Methodism was more localised and relatively weak in urban areas. Its strongholds lay mainly in agricultural and mining areas such as Norfolk, the Welsh borders, Berkshire and County Durham ¹¹⁵.

However, the wide and scant distribution of the Methodist subjects used in this study precludes any accurate assessment of the relevance of their geographical location. Although it does not figure amongst the major aspects of this research, more relevant is the broader concept of a possible rural/urban division within the membership. "Rural" communities will be defined as those existing in isolation from others, and will include both industrial and non-industrial settlements. For instance, the mining village of Bowers Row and the fishing village of Staithes, though dissimilar in their economic functions, and separated by a distance of more than 80 miles, share a degree of remoteness which could inform the nature and practices of

the family, Connexional or, indeed, otherwise, more than their geographical locations. Similarly, the experiences of both Methodist and non-Methodist families living in urban areas, such as Wolverhampton, or those industrial areas of the north-west researched by Elizabeth Roberts, could owe more to the metropolitan nature of their surroundings than their geographical region. Although the scant nature of the evidence does not allow more than tentative conclusions, the significance of the urban/rural location features in relation to customs and beliefs associated with childbirth, educational opportunities, Methodists socialising with secular society, courtship, and rituals surrounding death.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (iv) Key Concepts : Methodism
- The Numerical Strength of the Movement.

The Religious Census of 1851 revealed that foremost among the Nonconformists were the Wesleyans with fourteen per cent of worshippers; the Independents or Congregationalists had ten per cent; Baptists eight per cent; and Primitive Methodists five per cent ¹¹⁶. In 1851 membership of the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Connexions in Great Britain stood at 302,209 ¹¹⁷ and 104,762 ¹¹⁸ respectively. These two divisions were by far the largest within Methodism, and it is for this reason that this study utilises their publications, and mainly draws its subjects from amongst their ranks. In comparison, in 1847 the Methodist New Connexion had a membership of 19,289; in 1850 the Bible Christians numbered 15,267; and in 1857 the United Free Methodist Churches had 39,968 members ¹¹⁹. Although by the 1932 reunification, membership of the Wesleyanism and Primitive Methodist divisions had risen to 517,551 and 221,021 respectively ¹²⁰, it had fallen in relation to the rise in population of Great Britain as a

whole. This relative decline was evident by the end of the nineteenth century, since, whereas the 1851 Wesleyan membership figures encompassed 1.4 per cent of the total population of Great Britain of 20,816,351, an increased membership of 454,982 in 1901 constituted only 1.2 per cent of the population of 36,999,949, a down turn which commenced after 1881 ¹²¹. Similarly, total Methodist membership as a proportion of the adult English population fell from 4.4 to 3.5 per cent during this period. Consequently, Rack's conclusion that numerical increases in membership were "largely a product of 'natural growth, rather than a widening impact [of Wesleyanism] in English life" ¹²², may be applied to the movement as a whole.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (v) Key Concepts : Methodism

- The Institution

The very nature of Methodism hinders any search for a definitive representation of the movement at an institutional level, since from its inception, like the secular society with which it co-existed, it was an organic, dynamic, constantly evolving entity, the membership of which, while mainly emanating from the working class, cut across social boundaries. McLeod divides Methodist history into two periods, the first of which ran from the 1790s to the 1840s, the second from the 1840s onwards ¹²³. Of the two, the former, described by E P Thompson as "more volatile and more fissiparous" ¹²⁴, proves the more problematic since the diverse nature of the movement during these years impedes any generalisation of its character. This was a period of secessions and expulsions.

During the years following the death of John Wesley objections to the autocratic nature of the Connexional leadership and, in certain

instances, the desire to revive evangelism, led to a series of schisms. For instance, Alexander Kilham was expelled from the main body of the movement in 1796 after his attempts to enhance the influence of the laity within the Connexion had been rejected by Methodist Officialdom. He went on to form the Methodist New Connexion. After his expulsion from the Methodist movement for indiscipline in 1815 William O'Bryan went on to found the Bible Christians, an evangelistic enterprise which was arose on the northern border of Devon and Cornwall. Further secessions followed. For instance, those of 1827, 1835 and 1849 ultimately resulted in the formation in 1857 of the United Free Methodist Churches.

For the purposes of this research, the most significant secession led to the foundation of what was to become formally known in 1812 as Primitive Methodism. This organisation was founded after the expulsion from the movement of Hugh Bourne (in 1808) and William Clowes (in 1810) on account of their participation in the camp meeting movement, a phenomenon strongly reminiscent of the outdoor preaching undertaken by John Wesley. Although the main system of administration was framed upon the existing Methodist pattern, it was characterised by a greater lay participation in its government than that allowed within Wesleyanism. It drew a greater proportion of its membership from the working class (though the majority of Wesleyans also belonged to this sector of society, and in both of these branches of Methodism skilled workers predominated amongst their numbers). In addition, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, in contrast to the Wesleyan body, women played significant roles as both itinerants and local preachers¹²⁵.

In contrast to the earlier period of its history, the years covered by this thesis, namely c.1850-1932, present a more settled image of the

Methodist organisation, the main thrust of the movement from the mid-nineteenth century onwards being towards union. This trend was manifested in the uniting of the Bible Christians, the Methodist New Connexion and the United Free Methodist Churches to form the United Methodist Church in 1907, the promise of reunion of all the major Methodist traditions being fulfilled in 1932. Although the evidence available to this thesis will reveal some slight differences between Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist opinion during the period researched, they are not significant in respect of family life. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the term "Connexion" will denote these two branches of Methodism.

Nevertheless, the dynamic nature of the movement during this period of consolidation was in no way impaired, as these years witnessed its metamorphosis from sect to denomination ¹²⁶. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were overt signs that this transition was complete, as illustrated by the title "church", as opposed to "connexion", appearing on Primitive Methodist class-tickets in 1902 ¹²⁷.

However, such signs were indicative of more profound changes which had taken place throughout the nineteenth century, as the main goal of the early Methodist sect, that is to propagate Evangelical doctrine within a wider church (the society itself having a clearly defined and regulated membership), was modified by the desire to cater for wider religious and social needs ¹²⁸. Thus, as the century progressed, the movement was perceived to shift from being "associational" (involving groups based upon specialised, non-personal relationships) to "communal" (involving groups bound together by ties of common upbringing, kinship, cultural and social expectations) ¹²⁹ in nature, the latter state depending more upon endogenous recruitment ¹³⁰. During this evolution adherents discarded the lifestyle of "inner-worldly

ascetics"¹³¹ in favour of increased involvement in a wider society. On a social welfare level, this more world-affirming attitude manifested itself in the Methodist involvement in the Forward Movement of the last decades of the nineteenth century, a phenomenon in which "the sacrament and soup-ladle [went] hand in hand" ¹³². On a materialistic plane, the real rise in financial incomes and the concomitant rise in social status enjoyed by many within Wesleyanism and (the arguably more proletarian) Primitive Methodism could possibly have helped to secularise attitudes, a process which would likely be reflected in Methodist family life ¹³³.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (vi) Key Concepts : Methodism
- Personal Commitment

While Methodist historiography investigates and evaluates the organisation, beliefs and policies of the movement, it offers little assistance in determining individuals' awareness of it, namely, what it meant to be a Methodist. The degree to which individuals truly hold to the tenets of, or feel loyalty towards, any spiritual organisation is difficult to discern. For religion, according to R L Johnstone, being supernatural and "of the heart", demands an appreciation of its "essence", and the degree to which this end is achieved may only be viewed from within the individual ¹³⁴. Moreover, inherent in this contention is an acknowledgement of the potential diversity in nature and strength of the allegiance of those within any religious body.

Nevertheless, a broad spectrum of religious commitment may be attempted. At one extreme, a Methodist, on either a professional or voluntary basis, could devote a large portion of his or her time to participation in the organisation or ritual of the chapel, even at the expense of their own material wellbeing. He or she could also fervently

adhere to Connexional promulgations respecting every aspect of daily life. On the other hand, bearing in mind the endogenous nature of recruitment from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, an individual's membership of the movement could merely arise from family tradition rather than from personal conviction. Sunday attendance at chapel for such as these would be a social rather than spiritual experience, an event compartmentalised, totally separate from and irrelevant to the daily concerns of the secular society in which they participate for the remainder of the week. Fundamental to the whole of this thesis is the assessment of the extent to which individuals' religious commitment affected attitudes and behaviour within Methodist homes.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (vii) Key Concepts : The
Categorisation of Methodist Subjects

As mentioned above, for the purposes of this research emphasis will be placed upon the two largest sectors of the Methodist movement - the Wesleyans and the Primitive Methodists, the term "Connexion" primarily denoting these two major branches. During this investigation 77 Methodist "subjects" - who consist of both individuals and families - are employed as "unofficial" subjects ¹³⁵, their lives taken from "personal" accounts in the form of published volumes or articles (the latter not taken from Connexional magazines published during the period under research), unpublished typescripts, transcripts of oral evidence, and, in one case, an unpublished diary. Some of these sources are family biographies. Some subjects have more than one volume or article dealing with their lives. Of these subjects, 49 are Wesleyans, 11 are Primitive Methodists, one is Methodist New Connexion, one is United Free Methodists, one is United Methodist, and for the remaining 14 the denomination is unclear ¹³⁶. Of

the individual subjects, 13 are women, a small minority attesting to the above mentioned notions of women as inarticulate and ahistorical, but which, nevertheless, compares favourably with other works which use auto/biographies as their main primary source of evidence ¹³⁷.

In addition to these "personal" or "unofficial" accounts, 45 "official" biographies, mostly in the form of short obituaries, have been taken from contemporary Connexional magazines (namely, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, and the *Primitive Methodist Magazine*). Of these "official" subjects, 22 are Wesleyans, and 23 are Primitive Methodists, of whom 20 are men and 25 women ¹³⁸. Methodist subjects ("official" and "unofficial"/"personal") are scattered both geographically and in terms of a rural/urban divide, originating from places as diverse as London, rural Warwickshire, and industrial Lancashire.

This study utilises social class as a major criterion in its examination of Methodist family life. For the purposes of this research, the middle class includes those primarily engaged in non-manual work - at one extreme lying the lowliest clerk and small tradesman, and at the other the wealthy professional and business entrepreneur. In cases where unofficial subjects undergo social mobility during the period researched the status relevant to the particular stage in their life course under examination is employed. Taking into account such ambiguities, and excluding the "group" biographies, it is estimated that the personal subjects are almost evenly distributed between the working and middle classes ¹³⁹.

Due to the scant information provided by contemporary Connexional biographies, the social class of over half of the official subjects is not apparent. However, this deficiency is not of prime importance, since,

unlike the personal/unofficial accounts, these writings are taken to represent Officialdom's opinion, as opposed to personal opinions which might be affected by the socio-economic circumstances of the individual.

Unlike previous studies which have focused upon Methodism at a community level (such as those of Moore in the north-east and Clark in Staithes, North Yorkshire), this research formally classifies each of its subjects at a detailed level in terms of chapel involvement. To this end, the subjects are divided into three categories: "ministerial" - in which the subject is an ordained minister, or has a member of his or her family who is a member of the ministry; "officer" - in which the subject, or a member of his or her family, holds one or more chapel offices (for example, Sunday-School superintendent, Sunday-School teacher, chapel trustee, lay preacher); and "rank-and-file" - in which subjects are members of families who regularly attend chapel services, but do not hold any special chapel office. However, rigid stratification is not always possible as margins of these categories tend to become diffuse owing to particular family circumstances. For instance, within the "officer" group the number and status of offices held can vary considerably between families. In addition, within each family, positions held may increase, decrease, or even disappear over time. In such cases the category relevant to the particular stage in the subjects' life course under examination is assigned. Where the category is not apparent within official biographies, "officer" has been designated, since it is assumed that, to merit a Connexional obituary, the subject must have been closely involved with the chapel. However, as in the case of social class, this aspect of these subjects' lives is subsumed by their role as mouthpieces for Officialdom.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (viii) Key Concepts : Defining
"Respectability"

According to Geoffrey Best, respectability "signified at one and the same time intrinsic virtue and social value", though "Conventions of respectability varied from place to place, from denomination to denomination, from group to group, from level to level". But there were common criteria to all standards of respectability - it was a style of living showing "a proper respect for morals and morality" which may (though not necessarily) implicate a degree of Christianity. This contention is particularly relevant to issues such as family prayers and temperance. Gertrude Himmelfarb asserts that religious consensus broke down in mid-Victorian England, so society "determined to make of morality a substitute for religion - to make of it, indeed, a form of religion" ¹⁴⁰, a viewpoint relevant to the temperance campaign which gained strength during the second half of the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this research "respectable" opinion will be defined as that primarily reflecting that of the bourgeoisie or middle class in society at large.

However, the working class should not be summarily dismissed from the sphere of "respectability". Most usefully, F M L Thompson suggests that moral or cultural criteria might be used to define the mid-Victorian "respectable" working class. As such, this sector of society would encompass those characterized by self-reliance and a determination to live off their own resources, and exclude the "destitute or poverty-stricken, feckless or idle, disorderly or drunken, scrounger or disabled" ¹⁴¹. Thompson's definition of working-class "respectability" would encompass a substantial portion of the Methodist membership, whose greatest representation lay amongst the skilled working class.

On the other hand, Peter Bailey's doubts concerning the constancy of "respectability" amongst the poor will be borne in mind. He contends that, in this sector of society, "respectability" took on a dynamic, "polyvalent" character, which was "practised in a more limited and situational sense than that of a lived ideal or permanent code of values", it being "assumed as a role (or a cluster of roles) as much as it was espoused as an ideology". Moreover, such roles might include that of a defensive mechanism against middle-class interference ¹⁴².

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (ix) Key Concepts : Defining "Family"

The concept of the "family" also exhibits a "polyvalency" which renders it problematical to the researcher. For instance, it is difficult to define its limits. Roberts found that opinions varied from the inclusion of cousins, uncles and aunts to much narrower definitions, much depending upon area and circumstance. Nevertheless, on one point she is clear: "The concept of privatised, isolated family life was much later in reaching the working class than other strata of society, for financial, social and moral reasons" ¹⁴³. In addition, the presence or otherwise of lateral or vertical family extensions within a household has been the subject of debate between historians. Shorter describes three main patterns of kinship in the domestic group: the basic conjugal family, with no other resident kin; the so-called "stem" family, consisting of parents, children and one set of grandparents (the deciding factor here being the co-residence of a junior and senior couple); and the multiple family household, extended both vertically (to include grandparents) and laterally (to include brother and sisters of either the husband or wife) ¹⁴⁴.

However, issues of kinship and physical propinquity are not the sole considerations. It is the psychological framework of the family which either fosters harmony or discord, cementing or undermining the bonds which bind its members together. For instance, such phenomena as the paterfamilias, or its opposite, the companionate marriage, determine the hierarchy of power within the family ¹⁴⁵.

Finally, overlaying issues of blood ties, household composition and mental attitudes is the chronology of events in the world beyond the immediate family environment. This research will investigate the extent to which both the physical and emotional composition of a family might be profoundly affected by such upheavals as the First World War ¹⁴⁶.

Bearing these arguments in mind, for the purposes of this research, the family will be defined as follows: it is a group whose membership, though primarily delineated by kinship, is liberally extended both vertically and laterally to include grandparents, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and cousins; in addition, whenever relevant to family life, it will also encompass those within the wider chapel community who, while having no ties of blood, interact with each other on a spiritual, emotional or social plane ¹⁴⁷.

The Analytical Framework of the Thesis - (x) Overall Aims and Outline

The data gathered in the course of this research will be employed in two major ways:

(1) the beliefs and practices relating to domesticity in the personal accounts of Methodist subjects will be compared with those of their peers in the non-Methodist world. By placing Methodists against a

secular backcloth, the degree to which values and patterns of behaviour in Methodist families were influenced by the expectations of an outside society can be evaluated. A further aim will be to assess the extent to which the heterogeneity of family life existing in the secular world, as determined principally by the variables of social class and gender, was reflected within Methodism.

The values and behaviour evident in Methodist families will not only be compared with those of "respectable" secular society but also, where relevant, with those of the wider secular world. Additionally, an assessment will be made of the extent to which official Connexional opinions reflected those of wider "respectable" society.

Although not pursued as a major theme in this research, the degree to which Methodist family life was influenced by geographical location will also be assessed, where relevant. In particular, consideration will be given to whether differences can be explained on the basis of a rural/urban divide or, more specifically, by the level of isolation of a community in which Methodists resided.

(2) The other principal employment of data will be in the comparison of official Methodist promulgations concerning family life, as portrayed by Connexional literature (mainly in the form of obituaries, articles, sermons and other treatises), with evidence found within the personal accounts of the various categories of subject. The degree to which convergence or divergence occurred between the values and attitudes of the Connexion and its membership during the period under research will determine to what extent, if any, Methodist households manifested a unified set of beliefs and practices in line with official Connexional attitudes which cut across barriers of class, gender and place.

The thesis is structured to follow the pattern of the family life course. The theme of Chapter Two is parenthood/childhood. Assessment will take place of the values, attitudes and practices concerning pregnancy, childbirth, and parental roles throughout the period covered by this thesis. The main focus of this chapter is the inculcation of morality. Areas to be investigated in this section include religious observance (within the home and the chapel), discipline, and the practical and moral duties of children, namely, the allocation and execution of household chores by the young, and the obligations of grown up children to elderly parents.

Chapter Three continues the theme of childhood, but moves beyond the domestic environment in its investigation of the extent to which young Methodists availed themselves of the increasing educational opportunities and recreational activities on offer in the secular world. This chapter also examines certain "vices", notably, the practices of gambling, smoking and drinking, all of which were likely to tempt the young of all social classes, Methodist and non-Methodist alike, as they matured and entered society.

Chapter Four deals with courtship and marriage with particular attention given to issues such as sexual morality, courtship rituals, nuptials, the criteria employed in making a choice of spouse, and the nature of spousal roles.

Chapter Five, in its study of family bereavement, examines the nation's health, mourning rituals, the potential social and financial consequences of the death of a family member, consolation literature, changes in eschatological thought and personal responses to bereavement.

FOOTNOTES

¹ These definitions are discussed more fully below.

² For instance, Doreen M Rosman dedicates a chapter to "Faith and the Family" in *Evangelicals and Culture* (Bekenham, Kent, 1984), a work which covers an earlier period (1790-1833) than that concerning this thesis.

³ Conversely R Moore criticises Thompson for not examining local beliefs in his work.

"E P Thompson, "On History, Sociology and Historical Relevance", *British Journal of Sociology*, XXVII (1976) (hereafter "Relevance"), 396; Robert Moore, "Methodism and Class Conflict", *Sociological Analysis*, I (2) (1971) (hereafter "Methodism"), 84.

Methodist historiography is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

⁴ For instance, Edward Shorter (*The Making of the Modern Family* (1975)) emphasises the significance of families' interaction with the surrounding community. He argues that the "a surge in sentiment" in three areas, namely, courtship, the mother-child relationship, and the boundary line between family and surrounding community, was a major force in the evolution of the modern nuclear family. In relation to the last factor, the reinforcement of the emotional ties between family members weakened the ties between the family unit and the outside world.

Gender issues are highlighted by publications such as Carol Dyhouse's *Feminism and the Family in England, 1880-1939* (1989) (hereafter *Feminism*) in which she enters the private sphere of the family in order to investigate the struggle against women's subordination.

The significance of geographical location and social class may be assessed in works which include, for example, that of Diana Gittins ("Marital Status, Work and Kinship 1880-1930" in Jane Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love : Women's Experience of Home and Family* (1986) (hereafter "Marital")), which reveals that the composition of working-class households in Devon for that period could be influenced by the flux in the local economy (refer to footnote 143 for more details).

See below for further discussion of the historiography of family life.

⁵ See below for further discussion of the period chosen for research.

⁶ Not all of the auto/biographies used in this study appertain to Methodists, or to lives which occur during the period researched. Such works, as that of John Burnett (John Burnett, ed. *Useful Toil : Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s* (1974) (hereafter *Useful*)), are mainly utilised as contextual sources. For the purposes of this thesis Burnett's volume (along with other works which depict several lives, but do not contain portrayals of those used as Methodist subjects in this research) is counted as a single auto/biographical work.

⁷ Janet Oppenheim, "A Mother's Role, a Daughter's Duty : Lady Blanche Balfour, Eleanor Sidgwick, and Feminist Perspectives", *Journal of British Studies*, 34 (2) (April 1995), p.321.

⁸ David Vincent, *Bread Knowledge and Freedom : A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography*, (1981), pp.6-7.

⁹ Liz Stanley, *The Autobiographical I : The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester and New York, 1992) (hereafter *Auto*), p.61. In this comment she is referring to Roland Barthes' autobiography, *Roland Barthes, Roland Barthes* (1975).

¹⁰ Kenneth Thompson, "Social Pluralism and Post Modernity" in Stuart Hall, David Held, & Tony McGrew, eds. *Modernity and its Futures*, (1992) (hereafter "Social"), p.230.

¹¹ Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity" in Hall, Held & McGrew, eds. *op. cit.* p.277.

- ¹² Deconstructuralism, associated with the works of Jacques Derrida, whereby cultural life is viewed as intersecting "text", analysis of which breaks down or "reads" them to reveal constituent textual elements or fragments. Thompson, "Social", p.229.
- ¹³ Regenia Gagnier, "Social Atoms : Working Class Autobiography, Subjectivity, and Gender", *Victorian Studies*, 30, No.3 (Spring 1987), p.338.
- ¹⁴ W E Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom* (1903, New York, 1968 edition), p.xiii quoted in Gagnier, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ R C Richardson, *Some Fell on Stony Ground* (1979), p.vii.
- ¹⁶ E B Perkins, *So Appointed : An Autobiography* (1964), p.xiii.
The cynical may detect a touch of false modesty in this comment by one so prominent in the Wesleyan movement - his offices included Superintendent of the Birmingham and Sheffield Missions, and Chairman of the Sheffield and Manchester Districts.
- ¹⁷ W G Elliott, "An Octogenarian's Personal Life Story" (1968-70) (TS held at Brunel University).
- ¹⁸ Cliff Willetts, *When I was a Boy* (1977), II, p.2.
Willetts later went on to produce a third volume of his life history.
- ¹⁹ S J Tyrell, *A Countryman's Tale* (1973), pp.11-2.
- ²⁰ Joseph Arch, *From Ploughtail to Parliament : An Autobiography* (1898, 1986 edition), p.1.
- ²¹ Burnett, ed. *Useful*, pp.11-2.
- ²² Margaret McCarthy, *Generation in Revolt* (1953), p.vi.
- ²³ Basil Willey, *Spots of Time : A Retrospective of the Years 1897-1920* (1965), p.9.
- ²⁴ Dyhouse, *Feminism*, pp.185-6.
Novels employed by this research include Mona Caird's "New Woman" novel, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894), which presents imagery of women which conflicts with that expected by "respectable" society. See Chapter Four for further discussion.
- ²⁵ Richardson, *op. cit.* p.37.
See Chapter Four for further discussion of courtship.
- ²⁶ The Diaries of Thomas Wright, (MA held at Wedgwood Memorial College, Barlaston)
See Chapter Four for further details of Wright's reticence to discuss this matter.
- ²⁷ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.40.
- ²⁸ I B Nadel, *Biography : Fiction, Fact and Form* (1984), p.1.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* p.9.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* pp.171-2.
Although Nadel associates this genre of psychobiography with twentieth century writers, it is evident in many nineteenth century Methodist biographies.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* p.192.
- ³² W E Moss, *The Life of Mrs Lewis, The Drunkard's Friend* (1927).
- ³³ M K Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe 1859-1919 : A Study of English Village Life* (Cambridge, 1961), p.xi.

- ³⁴ T S Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962, Chicago 1970 edition), p.7 quoted in Nadel, *op. cit.* p.103.
- ³⁵ Nadel, *op. cit.* p.4.
- ³⁶ F W Macdonald, *As a Tale that is Told : Recollections of Many Years* (1919)
A W Baldwin, *My Father : The True Story* (1955)
Ina Taylor, *Victorian Sisters* (1987)
Refer to Chapters Two and Four for further discussion of these works in relation to this issue.
- ³⁷ Burnett, ed. *Useful*, p.11.
- ³⁸ L H Peterson, *Victorian Autobiography : The Tradition of Self-Interpretation* (1986), pp.22,19.
- ³⁹ Liz Stanley, *The Autobiographical I The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester and New York, 1992) (hereafter *Auto*), p.156.
- ⁴⁰ Joseph Barker, *Life of Joseph Barker, Written by Himself* (1880) (hereafter *Life*).
H D Rack detects the origins of such journeys in lives of seventeenth century Puritans: "subjects moved from deadness in sin through the awakening of conviction of sin, the false dawn of trying to save oneself by good works, to the experience of justification by faith through some form of personal conversion".
H D Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast : John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (1989) (hereafter *Reasonable*), p.421.
- ⁴¹ Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood : Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (1975), p.11.
- ⁴² Kathleen Barry, "The New Historical Synthesis : Women's Biography", *Journal of Women's History*, 1 (3) 1990, p.79.
- ⁴³ C G Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (1989), p.24.
- ⁴⁴ Julia Swindells, "Introduction" in Julia Swindells, ed. *The Uses of Autobiography* (1995), p.4.
- ⁴⁵ H G McKenny, *A City Road Diary, 1885-1888 : The Record of Three Years in Victoria London* (Chichester, West Sussex, 1978)
Tierl Thompson, ed. *Dear Girl : The Diaries and Letters of Two Working Women (1897-1917)* (1987) (hereafter *Diaries*)
Geoffrey Mitchell, ed. *The Hard Way Up : The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, Suffragette and Rebel* (1977)
- ⁴⁶ Victoria Glendinning, *Vita : Life of Vita Sackville-West* (1983), quoted in Liz Stanley, "Moments of Writing : Is there a Feminist Auto/biography?", *Gender & History*, 2 (1) Spring 1990 (hereafter "Moments"), p.61.
- ⁴⁷ Stanley, *Auto*, p.164.
- ⁴⁸ Alan Shelson, *Biography* (1977), p.8.
- ⁴⁹ Censorship, which is discussed later in this chapter, is also a particularly important factor to take into account when assessing Connexional biographies.
- ⁵⁰ Macdonald, *op. cit.*
Baldwin, *op. cit.*
- ⁵¹ William Potter, *Thomas Jackson of Whitechapel : A Record of Social and Evangelical Enterprise* (1929) p.1.
- ⁵² Nadel, *op. cit.* pp.171-3.

Indeed, some biographers have emphasised the importance of having personal acquaintance with their subject, as James Boswell declared, "Nobody can write the life of a man, but those who have eat and drunk and lived with him". James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791, Everyman Library edition), I, 422 quoted in *ibid.* pp.33-4.

⁵³ Denis Crane, *James Flanagan : The Story of a Remarkable Career* (n.d.), p.7.

⁵⁴ G S Wakefield, *Robert Newton Flew 1886-1962* (1971), p.x.

⁵⁵ Nadel, *op. cit.* pp.171-3.

Indeed, Nadel's third category of biography, the detached objective/academic mode, in which the biographer strives to eliminate him or herself through historical distance or scholarly ideals appears to be absent from those biographies examined for the purposes of this thesis.

⁵⁶ Mitchell, *ed. op. cit.* p.33.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Lyons & Laurance Craven, "Introduction" in Richard Cook, *The Memoirs of Richard Cook : South Nerriby in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Brigg, 1977).

⁵⁸ W H Lax, *Lax His Book : The Autobiography of Lax of Poplar* (1937), p.12.

⁵⁹ Stanley, *Auto*, p.62.

⁶⁰ Mark Freeman, *Rewriting the Self : History, Memory, Narrative* (1993), p.8.

⁶¹ Derek Thompson, "Courtship and Marriage in Preston between the Wars", *Oral History : The Journal of Oral History Society*, 4, (1) (Fall 1975) (hereafter "Courtship"), p.39.

⁶² Brian Elliott, "Biography, Family History and the Analysis of Social Change" in M Drake, *ed. Time Family and Community : Perspectives on Family and Community History* (1994), p.49.

⁶³ Stanley Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists : A Study in Business History* (1974), p.10.

⁶⁴ Carol Dyhouse, "Mothers and Daughter in the Middle-Class Home, c1870-1914", (hereafter "Mothers") in Lewis *ed. loc. cit.* p.42.

⁶⁵ R P M Sykes, "Popular Religion in Dudley and the Gornals c.1914-1965", unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Wolverhampton, 1999, p.33.

⁶⁶ L O Mink, "Philosophical Analysis and Historical Understanding", *Review of Metaphysics*, XXI (4) (1968), pp.667-87.

⁶⁷ John Springhall, "Building Character in the British boy : the attempt to extend Christian manliness to working-class adolescents, 1880-1914" in J A Mangan & James Walvin, *eds. Manliness and Morality : Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, (1987), p.61.

⁶⁸ Raphael Samuel, "Perils of the Transcript", *Oral History*, 2 (2) (Autumn 1975), p.19.

⁶⁹ Thea Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods* (hereafter *Childhoods*) (1981), p.2.

⁷⁰ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.45.

⁷¹ Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (1981) quoted in Hall, *op. cit.* p.288.

⁷² George Whalley, "'Scholarship', 'Research', and 'The Pursuit of Truth'", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII (1970), pp.310-1.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p.314.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.305.

⁷⁵ Bernard Semmel, "Two Views of Social History : E P Thompson and Gertrude Himmelfarb", *Partisan Review*, LII (2) (1985).

⁷⁶ Shorter, *op. cit.* p.21.

⁷⁷ Benny Green, "Introduction" in Clarence Rook, *The Hooligan Nights* (Oxford, 1899, 1979 edition) quoted in Carl Chinn, *They worked all their lives : Women of the urban poor in England, 1880-1939* (Manchester, 1988), p.7.

⁷⁸ Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles : Society Etiquette and the Season* (1973, 1986 edition) (hereafter *Best*), p.18.

⁷⁹ Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood : Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (1975), p.13.

For instance, she suspects that the colour plates in Mrs Beeton's publication account more for its popularity than its relevance to middle-class life.

⁸⁰ Sally Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period : Penny Weekly Family Magazines of the 1840's and 1850's" in Martha Vicinus, ed. *A Widening Sphere : Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (1977), p.30.

⁸¹ Philippa Levine, "'The Humanising Influences of Five O'Clock Tea' : Victorian Feminist Periodicals", *Victorian Studies*, 33 (2) (Winter 1990) (hereafter "Tea"), pp.296, 299

⁸² Quoted in J M Turner, "Methodist Religion 1791-1849" (hereafter "Religion") in Rupert Davies, A R George & Gordon Rupp eds. *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain : Volume II* (1982) (hereafter *MethII*), p.99.

⁸³ J R Gregory, ed. *Benjamin Gregory DD : Autobiographical Recollections Edited with Memorials of his Later Life* (1903), p.424.

The potential intervention by editorial bodies made the distinction between "official" and "unofficial" subjects somewhat problematic since certain of those designated as "personal" have their accounts published by institutions connected with the Methodist movement, such as Gordon Wakefield's biography of Robert Newton Flew, published by the Epworth Press, and Elizabeth Jennings' article on Sir Isaac Holden ("Sir Isaac Holden, Bart. (1807-97) : His Place in the Wesleyan Connexion", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLIII (5) (Sept.1982)). However, for the purposes of this research, such publishing bodies were not deemed to exert the same scale of censorship over their publications as that imposed in an earlier era by Gregory and his ilk. Therefore, although such accounts might not be regarded as purely objective (for all the reasons discussed in this chapter), nevertheless they are accepted as being relatively free from Connexional restraint, and so may reflect a view which may be contrasted with that of Officialdom.

⁸⁴ Bruce W Brown illustrates this conservatism by reminding the researcher that pictorial images of family life depicted in his sample of American publications dating from 1920 to 1978 (thus reaching far beyond the period under scrutiny) merely reflected values, not actual behaviour, of the middle class. B W Brown, *Images of Family Life in Magazine Advertising : 1920-78* (New York, 1981) (hereafter *Images*), p.91.

⁸⁵ Penny Tinkler, *Constructing Childhood : Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England, 1920-1950*, (1995), p.4.

⁸⁶ F M Leventhal, *Arthur Henderson* (Manchester, 1989), pp.vii-ix.

⁸⁷ L W Banner, "On Writing Women's History" in T K Rabb & R I Rotberg, eds. *The Family in History : Interdisciplinary Essays* (1973), pp.162-3. Jill Roe, "Modernisation and Sexism : Recent Writings on Victorian Women", *Victorian Studies*, XX, (2), Winter 1977, p.180.

⁸⁸ Margareta Halberg, "Feminist Epistemology : An Impossible Project?", *Radical Philosophy*, 53 (Autumn 1989) quoted in Gregor McLennan, "The Enlightenment Project Revisited" in Hall, Held & McGraw, eds. *op. cit.* p.375.

⁸⁹ However, there are exceptions. For instance, Pat Jalland's work, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford, 1996) throws light upon the effect of the First World War on attitudes towards family bereavement. In addition, Deborah Thom's work, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls* (1998), which primarily deals with women war workers, is another rare example which gives some (albeit small) insight into domesticity for the period. In her introduction Thom complains of the shortage of recent articles written about working-class female workers during a time which, for many, was one of great transition -experiencing within the span of four years leaving home, entering paid work, having their first children and entering widowhood. Thom's work and the earlier publication by Gail Braybon (*Women Workers in the First World War* (1981)) are two valuable examples of research which focus upon women's working lives during these years.

⁹⁰ T K Hareven, "The History of the Family as an Interdisciplinary Field" in Rabb & Rotberg, eds. *op. cit.* p.223.

⁹¹ Indeed, for his part, Gareth Stedman Jones sees little difference between history and other "social sciences" in the way that the significance of the construction of historical "problems" (whose creation involves critical use of extant evidence or "residues" of the past) rests upon either implicit or explicit theories of social causation G S Jones, "From Historical Sociology to Theoretical History", *British Journal of Sociology*, 27 (3) (September 1976) (hereafter "Historical"), p.296.

⁹² Stephen Cotgrove, *The Science of Society*, (1967, 1972 edition), pp.35-7.

⁹³ See P S Cohen, *Modern Social Theory*, (1968, 1970 edition), pp.179-204 for a fuller discussion of the following theories.

⁹⁴ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (1963), p.22 quoted in Robert Bocock & Kenneth Thompson, eds. *Religion and Ideology* (Manchester, 1985), p.2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Emile Durkheim, "The Elementary forms of the religious life" in Bocock and Thompson, eds. *op. cit.* p.43.

⁹⁷ Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a cultural system" in Bocock & Thompson, eds. *op. cit.* p.79.

⁹⁸ Cohen, *op. cit.* pp.183-6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p.187.

¹⁰⁰ Ernesto Laclau, *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time* (1990) quoted in Hall, *op. cit.* p.278.

¹⁰¹ Theodore Zeldin, "Personal History and the History of the Emotions", *Journal of Social History*, XV (2) (1981), p.343.

¹⁰² Kenneth Keniston, "Psychological Development and Historical Change" in Rabb & Rotberg, eds. *op. cit.* p.143-57.

¹⁰³ Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (1984) in Gregor McLennan, *op. cit.* p.339.

¹⁰⁴ B W Sheehan, "The Problem of Moral Judgments in History", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXXXVI (1) (1985), p.46.

¹⁰⁵ See above for detailed discussion of this issue. Footnote 3 supplies relevant references to Thompson and Moore.

¹⁰⁶ Sheehan, *op. cit.* p.50.

¹⁰⁷ The relevance of the rise in material wealth to the lives of Connexional families is discussed in Chapters Three and Five.

¹⁰⁸ Educational developments are discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁹ Changes in the legal and social status of women are discussed in Chapter Four.

¹¹⁰ The emotional and spiritual upheavals of the First World War are discussed in Chapter Five.

¹¹¹ For example:

F M L Thompson, *The Rise of the Respectable society : A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (1998) (hereafter *Respectable*).

Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians : The Remaking of British Society* (1975, 1992 edition) (hereafter *Edwardians*). Although this work is mainly utilised as a secondary source, it provides one of the Methodist biographies used in this thesis, namely that of subject Will Askham.

Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (hereafter *Place*) (Oxford 1984, 1996 edition).

Elizabeth Roberts, *Women's Work, 1840-1940* (1988, Cambridge, 1995) (hereafter *Work*).

Chinn, *op. cit.*

Davidoff, *Best*.

Branca, *op. cit.*

F B Smith, *The People's Health 1830-1910* (1979, 1990 edition)

Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil : Motherhood in Outcast London 1870-1918* (Oxford, 1993) (hereafter *Love*).

Dyhouse, *Feminism*.

Jane Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love : Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1940* (1986)

Thompson, *Childhoods*.

G S Frost, *Promises Broken : Courtship, Class and Gender in Victorian England* (1995).

M L Shanley, "'One Must Ride Behind' : Married Women's Rights and the Divorce Act of 1857", *Victorian Studies*, 25 (3) (Spring 1982).

Lee Holcombe, *Wives and Property : Reform of the Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Toronto, 1983) (hereafter *Wives*).

Throughout this thesis authors, other than autobiographers (who are also subjects), will normally be referred to by surname only after their initial mention. However, there are instances where historians share the same name (the most notable example being that of Thompson). In such cases it will be necessary, at times, to employ their first names in order to distinguish one from another. In addition, in the case of Jane Lewis (historian) and Elizabeth Lewis (subject), for the purposes of clarification, it may be necessary to employ the Christian name of the former on more than one occasion.

¹¹² C E Stipe, "The Role of Religion in Culture Change", *Christian Scholar's Review*, X (2) (1981).

¹¹³ Works by these authors used in this thesis include:

Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (1996) (hereafter *Religion*).

Geoffrey Rowell, *Hell and the Victorians : A Study of the Nineteenth Century Theological Controversies Concerning Eternal Punishment and the Future Life* (2nd edition, 1970).

Michael Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell and the Victorians* (Cambridge, 1994).

D W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain : A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989).

Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness : The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (1979).

John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester, 1980).

Rupert Davies, "The People Called Methodists 1. : 'Our Doctrines'" in Rupert Davies & Gordon Rupp, eds. *The History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain : Volume I* (1981) (hereafter "People").

H D Rack, *Wesleyanism and 'The World' in the Nineteenth Century* (Chester, 1977) (hereafter *World*).

Rack, *Reasonable*.

H D Rack, "Wesleyan Methodism" 1849-1902" (hereafter "Wesleyan"), in Rupert Davies, A R George & Gordon Rupp, eds. *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain : Volume III* (1983) (hereafter *MethIII*).

J M Turner, "Methodism in England, 1900-1932" in *MethIII* (hereafter "Methodism")

F C Pritchard, "Education" in *MethIII*.

C D Field, "The Social Structure of English Methodism : Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries", *British Journal of Sociology*, 28,2, (June 1977).

David Clark, *Between Pulpit and Pew : Folk Religion in a North Yorkshire Fishing Village* (Cambridge, 1982).

Robert Moore, *Pit-Men, Preacher and Politics* (Cambridge, 1974) (hereafter *Pit-men*)

¹¹⁴ J T Marcus, "The Changing Consciousness of History", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LX (2) (1961), p.222.

¹¹⁵ McLeod, *Religion*, p.34

¹¹⁶ McLeod, *Religion*, p.28.

Also see Appendix I

¹¹⁷ Rack, "Wesleyan", p.123.

¹¹⁸ E D Graham, "Chosen by God : Female Travelling Preachers of Early Primitive Methodism" (unpublished University of Birmingham, PhD thesis, 1987), p.33.

¹¹⁹ John T Wilkinson, "The Rise of Other Methodist Traditions" in *MethII*, pp.294,303,322.

¹²⁰ At reunification in 1932 there were also 179,527 United Methodists. Turner, "Methodism", p.339.

¹²¹ Rack, "Wesleyan", pp. 123-4.

¹²² Kenneth Thompson, "Religion, Class and Control" in Bocock & Thompson, eds. (hereafter "Religion") *op. cit.* p.134; Rack, "Wesleyan", p.124. For further statistics for the period 1851-1911 see Appendix II.

¹²³ McLeod, *Religion*, p.50.

¹²⁴ Thompson, "Religion", p.124.

¹²⁵ Field discovered that, for the period 1800-37, Primitive Methodist membership contained a greater proportion of unskilled labourers (45.3 per cent) compared to that of the Wesleyans (24.3 per cent). Nevertheless in both of these sectors of the Methodist movement the social sector most strongly represented was that of skilled workers (62.7 per cent of Wesleyans and 47.7 per cent of Primitive Methodists).

John T Wilkinson, "The Rise of Other Methodist Traditions" in *MethII*; Field, *op. cit.* p.203.

¹²⁶ Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.157-8.

¹²⁷ In fact, Rack places the roots of this transformation in John Wesley's lifetime, at least in the respect that the movement achieved a self-sufficient life and organisation

Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.157-8; Turner, "Methodism", pp.324-9.

¹²⁸ Turner, "Methodism", p.329.

Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.157-8.

¹²⁹ This is G Lenski's terminology employed by Moore.

Moore, *Pit-Men*, pp.120-3.

¹³⁰ A D Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England : Church, Chapel and Society 1740-1914* (1976), p.152.

¹³¹ This is Weber's terminology employed by Moore (Moore, *Pit-Men*, p.119) to describe those who were in the world, but not of it. This attitude towards the outside world is often illustrated in Methodist literature. For example: "We were not of the world; we are chosen out of it. Our conversion changes our relation to it, and our profession of the name of Christ binds us to follow His holy example".

"Worldly Amusements in Christian Families", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. I (1855), p.343.

¹³² Turner, "Methodism" p.311.

See footnote 121 in Chapter Two for more details about the Forward Movement.

¹³³ See footnote 125 above. Also, Chapters Three and Five supply further details concerning the consequences of the rise of material wealth and social status within the movement.

¹³⁴ R L Johnstone, *Religion and Society in Interaction* (New Jersey, 1981) pp.4-5.

¹³⁵ See Appendix III for list of subjects.

From time to time in this thesis reference is made to subjects' family members, for instance, Ethel, wife of Thomas Wright. Although these individuals might be used to illustrate various aspects of Methodist family life, since they are not the subjects of autobiographies or biographies, they are not listed independently in Appendix III.

¹³⁶ Those subjects whose denomination is unclear, or who definitely fall outside the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist camps, will be included with the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists for comparison with official views.

¹³⁷ See footnotes 41 and 42 for full reference to Branca and Barry concerning women's portrayal in history.

In Vincent's research on working-class autobiographies only eight out of his 142 subjects were women.

Vincent, *op. cit.*

¹³⁸ See Appendix III for list of subjects.

¹³⁹ Individual occupations may be subject to anomaly. Prosperous farmers, such as Robert Richardson, would normally be included within the middle class. On the other hand, the poverty of Hannah Mitchell's family, the Websters, confines them to the working class. The social class of "ministerial" subjects also sometimes proves problematic. It is assumed that second generational "ministerial" subjects are middle-class. However, first generation ministers who were born into the working class are designated therein if their early lives are especially relevant to this research.

The classification employed by this research does not resemble the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) currently employed by the Office for National Statistics, which divides the population into eight categories - some of which include both white-collar and blue-collar occupations (for instance, the "semi-routine" category six encompasses both operative and clerical posts). On the contrary, by utilising a definition of social class which generally perpetuates the manual/non-manual divide it largely emulates that employed by Roberts, who, in her research on working-class communities in the north-west, found that the most useful working definition of her subjects' status related to their manual occupations and limited economic standing.

For further details of the construction of the NS-SEC, reference may be made to the works of D Rose and K O'Reilly, which were commissioned by the Office for National statistics, for instance:

D Rose & K O'Reilly, *The ESRC Review of Governmental Social Classifications : Final Report* (1998). Details of this publication and other reports produced by Rose and O'Reilly, plus further information about the NS-SEC, may be obtained from the website of the Office for National Statistics at: www.statistics.gov.uk; Roberts, *Place*, p.4.

In their examination of different perspectives of working-class history labour

historians Mike Savage and Andrew Miles contend that the downplay of the importance of class in favour of "concepts, idioms and grammars", a trend evident in research undertaken since the mid-1970s (for instance, in the work of sociologist B Hindess (*Politics and Class Analysis* (Oxford, 1987)) and historian Patrick Joyce (*Visions of the People* (Cambridge, 1990)), is profoundly disabling. Rather, they assert, "...it is essential to retain some conception of social structures while recognising their mutability and complexity". Such complexity is recognised by Ross McKibbin in his study of the social character of the working class for the period 1880-1950. For instance, he contends that its political culture was both defensive and diverse, being contained within institutions ideologically acceptable to all classes, its activities scattered among "a profusion of associations which tended to compete with as much as complement formal political activity".

Mike Savage & Andrew Miles, *The Remaking of the British Working Class* (1994), pp.1-20; Ross McKibbin, *The Ideology of Class : Social Relations in Britain 1880-1950* (1991).

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey Best, *Mid Victorian Britain 1851-75*, (1971, 1979 edition), pp.279-84; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Marriage and Morals Among the Victorians : Essays by Gertrude Himmelfarb*, (New York 1986), p.21.

¹⁴¹ Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.199-200.

¹⁴² Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.30-46.

As an example of a defensive mechanism, Bailey cites the example of the working class adopting "respectable" dress in order to avoid the unwanted attention from the forces of law and order.

¹⁴³ Roberts, *Place*, pp.169,189.

Roberts' contention is reinforced by Gittins' investigation of families in a small Devon village from 1850 to 1930, which revealed many households containing both lateral and vertical family extensions. These household arrangements were motivated by financial considerations after the demise of woolcombing trade had caused desertion of wives and lovers by the men of the town.

Gittins, "Marital", *op. cit.* pp.249-67;

¹⁴⁴ Peter Laslett asserts that, since the late sixteenth century, neither lateral nor vertical extensions have been frequent, resident kin accounting for less than one twentieth of the population, and being most frequent in the gentry and aristocracy. Shorter suggests that increasing maternal emphasis on infant welfare, along with the growth of romantic love between spouses were instrumental in the development of the nuclear family. Nevertheless, he contends that, the nuclear family "is a state of mind rather than a particular kind of structure or set of household arrangements".

Peter Laslett, "The Comparative History of Household and Family", *Journal of Social History*, 4 (1970), pp.75-87; Shorter, *op. cit.* pp.14-5,37,204.

¹⁴⁵ The role of the paterfamilias will be discussed in Chapter Two, companionate marriage will be discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁶ The effect of the First World War on family relationships will be discussed in Chapters Four (in relation to working wives) and Chapter Five (in relation to bereavement).

¹⁴⁷ For, as Johnstone asserts, religion is a social phenomenon, whereby adherents, as social units, interact with others, thus constituting a society, which, for the purposes of this research, may also be judged in familial terms

Johnstone, *op. cit.* p.3.

Chapter Two

"Train up a child in the way he should go"

This chapter will begin the investigation of the family life course by assessing those values and practices found within the Methodist home regarding the rearing of young children. The beliefs and customs prevailing amongst Methodist families will be assessed in the light of Connexional promulgations and the behaviour of the secular world. Although the focus will be primarily placed upon natural offspring, consideration will be given to the upbringing of step children and others, who may either be members of the extended family, or have no blood relationship to those providing parental care.

Firstly, the extent to which surrounding communal customs regarding pregnancy and childbirth were emulated in Connexional homes will be assessed. The degree to which the character of the families' location (in terms of an rural/urban divide) influenced their behaviour will be highlighted. Concerning the size of families, Methodist stances, at both a personal and official level, will be contrasted in the context of prevailing secular trends.

Regarding the provision of physical care and affection for young children, the range of practices prevailing within Connexional homes will be examined in the light of customs current in the non-Methodist world. Moreover, the compatibility, or otherwise, between, on one hand, personal Methodist practices and, on the other hand, Connexional and "respectable" promulgations will be assessed.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the spiritual dimension of parenthood will be examined. This section of the chapter will endeavour to determine the extent to which the chapel (as opposed to the demands of outside "respectable" society) influenced the values and attitudes within Methodist families during the period.

Best has emphasised the close alliance between "respectability" and morality, and the latter's possible association with Christianity ¹. Bearing this assertion in mind the motivations behind religious ritual within the home will be examined.

Moving outside the home environment, the role of external agencies in spiritual training will be assessed. Following the examination of chapel attendance, the Sunday School will be investigated in order to determine to what extent, if any, its role and sphere of recruitment changed as the period covered by this research progressed.

The inculcation of morality also encompassed the instilling of discipline and duty into the young. Methods of discipline and expectations of filial duty found, on one hand, within Methodist families will be compared with, on the other hand, Connexional promulgations and the opinion and practices of the wider secular society, "respectable" or otherwise. Such an exercise is designed not only to reveal the range of behaviour within Connexional homes, but to ascertain whether or not the standards therein satisfied the expectations of Officialdom and "respectability".

Filial duties extended beyond childhood. This chapter will conclude with an investigation into the continuation of services rendered to parents or other elderly relatives by children after they had reached

adulthood in order to determine to what extent Methodists followed Connexional and traditional societal gender expectations.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries pregnancy and childbirth were a particularly hazardous time for the mothers and infants involved. In 1847 the number of deaths due to childbirth of women in England and Wales was 3,200, rising to 4,200 in 1881, a rate of 4.8 per 1000 live births ². By the decade ending 1910 the annual rate had fallen to 4.1, but not until 1944-5 was the rate less than one per 1000 ³. Similarly, infant mortality was high, though there was an overall decline, from a rate of 156 deaths per 1000 live births in 1851-5 to 113 in 1911-2 ⁴. This research has revealed that Methodists shared this tragedy which cut across social barriers. Beatrice Hawker's grandfather, a shepherd, born in 1836, had 13 children, only four of whom reached adulthood ⁵. Within middle-class Methodists, at mid-century, two brothers of Hugh Price Hughes, sons of a doctor, died in childhood ⁶. In 1922 Thomas Wright suffered the loss of his infant daughter, Margaret ⁷.

Despite the high rate of maternal and child mortality endured by all social classes throughout the nineteenth century ⁸, as early as the 1840s, within the secular world there was some indication of a decline in fatalism in relation to these tragedies. In 1844 the *Magazine of Domestic Economy* stated, "No one who has reflected upon the subject....will contend that the annual deaths of 3000 women in childbirth, and 13,350 boys and 9,740 girls in the first month after delivery....are natural and inevitable". This attitude was reflected in the numerous books and magazines published on motherhood, exemplified

by Dr Allbutt's *The Wife's Handbook* (1886) and *The British Mother's Magazine* (which ran from 1848 to 1895) ⁹.

By the middle decades of the nineteenth century Connexional literature was emulating secular writings in its concern for physical welfare. Articles, such as "How to Keep Children Healthy" in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* of 1865, advised parents to mash or cut food up finely in order to avoid disorders ranging from stomach cramps to diarrhoea ¹⁰.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was also a time of medical advances in the area of confinement. From the late 1840s, chloroform was used as a method of alleviating pain. In addition, there was a growth of formal training in obstetrics, and many middle-class women were attended by doctors rather than untrained midwives ¹¹. However, attendance by doctors during confinements did not guarantee survival of the wealthy. In 1866 Sarah Pearce, daughter of William and Susanna Angel Gibbs, died at the age of 27 after being attended at her confinement by two doctors ¹².

However, while the health of many women was evidently damaged by childbirth, it has been argued that this event was used by some middle-class wives as a means to evade both wifely and social duties. Taylor contends that Louisa, wife of wealthy industrialist, Alfred Baldwin, falsely claimed to suffer a permanent breakdown in health after the birth of her only child, Stanley, in 1867. After the birth she no longer shared a bedroom with her husband, and was no longer able to accompany him in his tedious social engagements in their local village of Bewdley. According to Taylor, Louisa used illness as an excuse to make regular visits to London and abroad in search of "cures", which often involved the consumption of copious amounts of alcohol ¹³. The

intoxicating nature of Louisa's medicine, however, was omitted from the writings of her grandson, A W Baldwin, who portrayed his grandmother as a woman who suffered a genuine permanent breakdown in health after childbirth ¹⁴.

The majority of working-class mothers-to-be in the nineteenth century, either through adherence to tradition or from financial motives, continued to be attended by midwives ¹⁵. Roberts found that even after the Midwives Act of 1902, many women preferred the services of (cheaper and often friendlier) unqualified midwives, one Preston doctor having an unqualified woman working in his practice in the 1930s ¹⁶.

This research has revealed that, into the twentieth century, such faith in these midwives was also shared by Methodist women of both the working and middle class. In some cases midwives were members or friends of the family. When S J Tyrell's mother (the wife of a shopkeeper) gave birth to her children in the last decades of the nineteenth century her mother-in-law acted as midwife and housekeeper¹⁷. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were no trained midwives in the working-class area of Cradley, the childhood home of Cliff Willetts, so local women relied upon the services of Mrs Hipkiss and Mrs Harper ¹⁸. During her confinement with twins in 1909, family friend, "Auntie 'B'", attended Greta Barker's mother, the wife of a clothier ¹⁹.

Although husbands were not welcome at childbirth, they could help in other ways. Ross, in her study of motherhood in the poorer areas of London for the period 1870-1918, lists the buying of supplies, such as bed linen, required by the mother-to-be, amongst the husbandly duties. Also, it was the job of men to fetch the childbirth attendant ²⁰, a task, which, according to Methodist personal accounts, was not confined

to either fathers or the working class. The diaries of (draughtsman) Thomas Wright record the despatching of his brother Harold (who was staying in the Wright household) to fetch the nurse when his first two children were born in August 1916 and March 1918 ²¹.

The physical pain of childbirth was often the culmination of the psychological trauma of pregnancy. In the personal accounts employed in this research the subject of pregnancy was rarely mentioned. For instance, although he described his feelings on the occasion of his children entering the world in some detail, Thomas Wright made little or no mention of his wife's pregnancies ²². But there were a few notable exceptions to this trend, including an entry of 1872 in the diary of farmer (and lay preacher) Cornelius Stovin concerning his wife's sixth pregnancy, which reported that "The world has proved a very sharp grindstone to her" ²³. In addition, on hearing she was to become a mother in the 1890s, working-class "rank-and-filer" Hannah Mitchell admitted, "I cannot say that the prospect gave me any pleasure at first" ²⁴.

However, despite such rare revelations, Wright's reticence was characteristic of the attitude of the "respectable" wider society which prevailed for the whole period of this research. Generally speaking, within both the working and middle classes, pregnancy was regarded as an indelicate or indecent state, not to be discussed. In her Essex study of the inter-war years (of subjects from a variety of occupations and class backgrounds), Gittins found that some women had little or no knowledge of the mechanics of childbirth right up to their first confinement ²⁵. Roberts found embarrassment amongst her mainly working-class sample in urban areas of the north-west of England for the period 1890-1940, one woman not leaving her home while visibly pregnant ²⁶.

Though both pregnancy and childbirth were disagreeable, the latter was often viewed, by both those within the Connexion and outsiders, as a religious or supernatural experience. Jim Bullock, the son of a Sunday-School teacher, reported that the mining village of Bowers Row, in which he spent his childhood in the first decade of the twentieth century, believed the local midwife to be endowed with "power far beyond the ordinary mortal" ²⁷. Many superstitions attended births : a girl born on the stroke of midnight was sure to be a healer, a baby born on Friday destined to be either very lucky or unlucky. Relatives and neighbours who came to view the child would place a small coin in the baby's hand, and if it was clutched tightly the child would grow up to be thrifty ²⁸. In his account Bullock made no distinction between the attitudes of Methodist and non-Methodist, suggesting that Methodist families within Bowers Row were indistinguishable from their neighbours in their adherence to communal beliefs and customs regarding pregnancy and childbirth. The persistence, range and intensity of local superstitions in the village would likely have been fostered by the isolated nature of this working-class community.

Such superstitions implied that the survival of mother and child embodied spiritual as well as physical salvation. The former is illustrated by Chinn's study of the poorer districts of Birmingham (which also further exemplifies the persistence of superstition within working-class communities) in his description of the "churcing" of women soon after childbirth. This event signified thanksgiving and the ritual "cleansing" of the woman before her re-entry into society ²⁹. In other research dealing with primarily working-class areas, that of Richard Sykes, relating to Dudley and the Gornals, this custom was also found to be a form of thanksgiving which was encouraged by local Anglican clergy. However, Sykes' research revealed that more prominent than the element of thanksgiving was the belief that it was unlucky for

mothers of new-born children to enter another person's house before they had been "churched", a belief which survived beyond the Second World War ³⁰.

However, the religious element of childbirth did not only manifest itself as public ritual. Methodist accounts of "ministerial" and "officer" subjects, of both the working and middle classes, in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, reveal intense, but private, spiritual experiences on the arrival of children into the family. The emotions thus engendered could result in the child being offered to God's service. Minister William H Lax reported that his mother (the wife of an iron moulder), on giving birth to him in 1868, "gave me back to the nurse, and having duly set me apart for sacred service, fell asleep, dreaming perhaps of what the future would reveal" ³¹, a statement foretelling a ministerial career for this son of an iron moulder. Similarly, nearly half a century later, middle-class Thomas Wright, himself a local preacher, revealed the "essence" of his spiritual beliefs by giving ecstatic thanks to God when his wife, Ethel, produced their first son, Kenneth, in 1916, offering the baby up to His service: "What a feeling ran through my whole being. I had a son - I had longed for a boy, but not prayed for one...I had difficulty to restrain my tears. I there and then thanked God for ...his gift and there and then gave him back to God". Moreover, Ethel, immediately after the birth, declared, "A Boy. Another missionary" ³².

Size of Families

Reactions to additions to the family circle were not always viewed in religious terms. This research has revealed that family size could be influenced by current secular trends, which themselves were informed by

community mores and social class. Bullock recorded that in the mining community of Bowers Row the first child was expected to be conceived "as soon as it was decently possible" after marriage. If a year passed without pregnancy then the husband was subjected to ribald comments by his friends and workmates - "Dust tha wasn't some help?" "Can't tha do it?" "What sort o' man is tha?" ³³. Although these comments were mentioned in relation to the community as a whole, Bullock himself was one of 12 children, suggesting that Methodist families were also apt to be subjected to and influenced by the expectations of the surrounding community.

Connexional writings of the second half of the nineteenth century promoted the advantages of large families. An article of 1873 contended that children from large families are less likely to be "improvident" or spoiled. "The family with its multitudinous ties is a tower of strength" ³⁴.

Such contentions were at odds with national trends. For, despite large families occurring into the twentieth century, there was a decline in fertility during the last decades of the previous one. A fertility rate of 135 live births per 1000 women aged 15-44 in the early 1840s, which peaked to 176 in the mid 1870s, began to decline from 1878, reaching 114 by 1901 ³⁵. At the end of the nineteenth century, fewer than 20 percent of all families had less than three children, but by the 1930s only 19 percent had more than three ³⁶. But such changes were not uniform throughout all social classes. The middle class preceded the working class in limiting their families. F M L Thompson contends that a decline in the birth rate among the middle class was apparent by the mid-nineteenth century, thus preceding the general downturn ³⁷. A possible awareness of this phenomenon could have partly inspired the Connexional promulgations concerning the size of families.

The limitation of families caused considerable controversy in secular society throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, the motivations behind advocating reduction in family size being diverse in nature. In the 1830s, Harriet Martineau exhorted the working class to enhance the value of their labour by limiting their numbers ³⁸. This sentiment echoed nineteenth-century concern over the quality of the population, a notion which lasted into the next century, and was witnessed by the calls of some in the medical profession for "sterilization of the unfit". Though these arguments generally rested on eugenicist grounds, they may also be viewed in a wider imperialist context - the fear that white races would be overrun by those of "lesser value" ³⁹.

Other commentators favoured it on humanitarian grounds, voicing concern for the health of women faced with limitless childbearing, exemplified by the comment of Austin Holyoake in 1870: "The mother of numerous progeny risks her life eight or nine times, besides passing the best of her existence in a continual suffering" ⁴⁰. Dyhouse contends that almost all feminists believed that motherhood should be "voluntary", exemplified in the words of Frances Swiney in 1907: "...when a woman marries a man, she and she alone should decide whether or not she will add another unit to the vast human population"⁴¹.

Methodist personal accounts, relating to the whole period of this research, have brought to light examples from all subject categories across the social spectrum of those who apparently shared this desire for family limitation. The anger and frustration of some women who appeared unable to limit their family was clearly visible. Hannah Mitchell recorded that the temper of her mother, who had six children

in the 1860s and 1870s, worsened with the birth of each child. The birth of the last two "seemed to be more than she could endure and our home became more unhappy than ever" ⁴². But such frustrations were confined neither to the working class, nor the "rank-and-file". Hannah Macdonald, wife of the Reverend George Browne Macdonald, who gave birth to 11 children between 1834 and 1850, confided in her diary that they were too exhausting, a drain upon her time. There was no money for a nursemaid ⁴³. Later in the century, an indication of economic pressures detracting from the joy of bringing children into this world was evident in an entry of 1886 in the diary of another "ministerial" subject, Helen G McKenny (the daughter of the Superintendent of the City Road Circuit), in which it was declared, "Went to see poor Mrs Stevens who has another little baby to starve". This remark implied a divergence from official Methodist attitudes, at least in respect of the London poor whose rates of fertility and infant mortality exceeded those in more prosperous areas ⁴⁴. McKenny's comments may be seen as an example of how a particular social environment, in this case the East End of London, could have a profound influence upon the attitudes of individual Methodists.

However, Connexional literature of the nineteenth century also acknowledged the influence of economic factors on family size - an example of how material considerations combined with ideology to determine attitudes regarding the family. But such acknowledgments did not result in any discernable shift within the official viewpoint. Instead, Officialdom attempted to allay worries by portraying the arrival of a new baby as a potential financial benefit. In an article of 1880, while admitting that this event might mean "a painful addition to an already over-burdened family exchequer", it was stressed that the child could also be regarded as a business speculation "who in a few

years will wend his way to forge or mill, and add to the earnings of the family and the increase of comfortable living" ⁴⁵.

Despite such Connexional reassurances, both physical and economic trauma concerning childbirth were still displayed at the turn of the century, illustrated by Hannah Mitchell, wife of a shop worker, who recalled, after giving birth to her first (and only) child, "Only one thing emerged clearly from much bitter thinking at that time, the fixed resolve to bring no more babies into the world. I felt it impossible to face either the personal suffering, or the task of bringing a second child into poverty" ⁴⁶.

The attitude of Mitchell, an active worker in the women's suffrage movement, and later, a prominent local Labour politician, can be directly linked with the findings of research into working-class behaviour. Roberts, for instance, found that the majority of the families in her sample who had fewer than four children had at least one "aspiring" parent who wished for better housing, possessions, education for children, etc ⁴⁷. Mitchell's beliefs, which aspired to improve both the political rights of women and the material conditions of the working class, may have thus served to influence her decision to limit the amount of children she brought into the world. Moreover, both Roberts and Gittins detect a degree of fatalism among those of their subjects with larger families, a trait foreign to Mitchell's assertive determination ⁴⁸.

Concern at the arrival of children continued to be expressed within Methodist families further into the twentieth century. The middle-class Thomas Wright's fear that his wife might be pregnant was reflected in his diary entry of 9 August 1924: "E should have commenced, slightly

worried". Worry was dispelled, however, a few days later, for on the 13 August he recorded, "E started tea time. Tremendous relief" ⁴⁹.

Again, as in the case of Mitchell, Wright's attitude can be directly linked with current trends in the secular world. Although he gave no explanation for his reluctance to add to his family, as a draughtsman working in an engineering office, his views may have reflected those of others among his working colleagues. For example, the Fertility Census of 1911 indicated lowest fertility appearing in the newest occupations, such as engineering. This trend contrasted sharply to others, which included mining families such as the Bullocks. Indeed, Branca contends that "modernization with its new mentality is the more important factor in explaining the sudden decline in births" ⁵⁰.

Physical Care and Affection : (i) The Mother

No matter how reluctant some Methodists may have been to take on the responsibility of parenthood, Connexional writing, particularly during the nineteenth century, was eager to extol its virtues. An article of 1874, referring back to the noble times of the Old Testament, proudly proclaimed, "The greatest glory of manhood consisted in being a father of a family, the head of a household; and the richest gem that sparkled in the crown of motherhood was, not her beauty, not her rank, but her offspring" ⁵¹.

This viewpoint can be linked with that of the contemporary secular world. Branca points out that Victorian women were constantly told that motherhood was their noblest function. The importance of maternal duty continued to be emphasised into the twentieth century. In particular, according to Thom, the First World War elevated motherhood, the

responsibility of mothers being increased due to the absence of so many fathers ⁵².

However, such attitudes should be tempered by considerations of social class. According to Davidoff, for the wealthiest in Victorian and Edwardian society, motherhood was not expected to absorb all of their attention. In fact, its physical and emotional demands could be an unwelcome distraction from the important business of social duties ⁵³. This opinion is reinforced by F M L Thompson's comment, "only wealthy cranks, in the stone-ground flour and vegetarian brigade would willingly dispense with nannies as a matter of principle rather than pocket" ⁵⁴. However, Branca asserts that the proliferation of literature on child care is a clear indication of the concern that middle-class mothers had for their offspring. But their thirst for knowledge may be a sign that many of these women were not finding motherhood as natural as traditionally imagined ⁵⁵.

In its condemnation of parental ineptitude and selfishness official Methodist literature suggested that those within the Connexion shared the parental misgivings and shortcomings of those within the secular world. An apparent failure of members to aspire to Connexional ideals regarding the care of offspring was aptly illustrated by an article of 1874, which condemned those who saw children as "irritating troubles, necessary evils that must be borne as best they may, because they interfere with the self-indulgence of their parents" ⁵⁶.

Indeed, dismissive parental attitudes were implied in the personal accounts researched, exemplified by one "ministerial" subject, Mary Louisa Gleaves (married in 1891, and of a wealthy prominent Connexional family), who "increasingly relied upon her devoted servant and companion, Miss Atkinson, who spent her time keeping the young Gleaves

away from their mother" ⁵⁷. This example not only substantiates Connexional allegations, but also supports the above assertions of Davidoff and Thompson in relation to the wealthier elements in Victorian and Edwardian of society.

However, both rich and poor received their share of criticism from official Methodist writings. As the rich gave their children over to the care of servants, so the poor allowed them to run wild: "No doubt the evil exists most largely at the extremes of society - with those who can well afford to pay others to do their own duty, and in large in those parts of the working population where females are largely employed away from their home" ⁵⁸.

In its criticism of the poor, Connexional attitudes can again be directly linked with those of the contemporary "respectable" secular world, where, during the latter half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries, those in the lower reaches of society were often submitted to scrutiny from their social "betters". Lewis contends that middle-class interest in the working-class family grew from the 1870s onwards ⁵⁹. A number of health investigations, which began in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and continued on into the early decades of the next century, revealed a poor state of health among working-class children ⁶⁰. Doctors blamed the fecklessness of working-class mothers for the death of young children. Many deaths were caused by suffocation due to the baby being in the same bed as the parents ⁶¹. Cases of (often fatal) diarrhoea in working-class babies were attributed to artificial feeding ⁶². The administration of "quieteners", such as Godfrey's Cordial, was also linked with infant deaths ⁶³.

The use of quieteners, and artificial feeding was for the working class associated with (supposedly uncaring) mothers working outside the home ⁶⁴. But contemporary surveys, for instance, that undertaken by Clara Collet in 1891, and more recent research, such as that of Roberts, have failed to reveal any simple correlation between infant mortality and working mothers ⁶⁵.

Nevertheless, the late nineteenth century saw an invasion of working-class homes by female middle-class "visitors" (who were initially mostly volunteers) seeking to remedy shortcomings in the housewifery and motherhood skills of their social inferiors, a process whereby compatibility between the ideals of "respectability" and the practices of the poor might be attained. Growing anxiety about social welfare continued into the next century as the years during and immediately after the First World War saw increased concerns about the condition of the nation, especially in terms of the health of its children. Social reformers such as the Webbs and Eleanor Rathbone believed that motherhood should be supported. Local authorities' concern for child welfare manifested itself in the increasing number of infant welfare centres, clinics, and milk depots - organisations which were to multiply during the post-war years with the aid of central government funding ⁶⁶.

Connexional literature of the mid-nineteenth century portrayed fears that young children might not be receiving the attention or treatment they required. An article of 1857, not overtly addressed to any particular social class, dealing with jealousy in young children (manifesting itself in bad behaviour such as trying to tip the baby out of its cot, or biting the mother) caused by the advent of a new baby into the family, advised the mother, not to use the rod or banishment from the baby's company, but meet such naughtiness with love,

understanding and assurance of affection ⁶⁷. In their examination of the latter decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries, both Paul Thompson and Ross observe that the mother-child closeness within the working class, "real mother-child 'dyad'" ⁶⁸ terminated at weaning or at the advent of the next baby, a time when these "ex-babies" tended to grow "delicate", many active toddlers being confined to high chairs or strapped into ordinary seats in their cramped homes.

There is some evidence of this "ex-baby syndrome" amongst the Methodist families investigated. But unlike the findings of Ross and Thompson, it was located amongst the middle class, manifesting itself among "ministerial" and "officer" families. In the mid-nineteenth century, while the mother of Wesleyan leader Hugh Price Hughes was devoted to all her children, "She ceased to spoil her children as they grew up, for there was generally a younger child who demanded all her powers of direction" ⁶⁹. Over half a century later, Ethel, the wife of "officer" Thomas Wright, though also a devoted mother to all her children, turned her attention away from her first child, Kenneth, during the months immediately before and after the birth of Kathleen, her second offspring ⁷⁰.

However, throughout the whole period of this research, Methodist mothers from amongst the middle and working classes manifested a wide spectrum of maternal care. For instance, in contrast to the above behaviour, evidence yielded many cases of maternal devotion, examples being found amongst "ministerial" and "officer" accounts. Despite her early death in 1858, when Joseph Rank (the future businessman and prominent Methodist layman) was only four years of age, his mother, wife of a businessman, devoted herself to the care of her son: "She yearned over him with a yearning that established between them an

intimate relationship of which he was conscious to his last days" ⁷¹. The mother of Hugh Price Hughes (born in 1847), a doctor's wife, wore herself out caring for her three delicate sons to the extent that she, herself, became an invalid ⁷². Further down the social spectrum, Joseph Barlow Brookes (born nearly three decades later and destined to become a minister), recalled his mother, a weaver's wife, cycling a 14 mile return journey to Manchester in order to fetch him his favourite potted shrimps when Brooks, a sickly child, was unwell ⁷³.

Not all accounts of maternal care relate to natural offspring, as Methodist personal sources reveal many relationships between stepmothers and stepchildren. However, as with natural offspring, this research revealed considerable diversity in the quality of treatment provided. Some stepmothers inflicted misery upon their young charges, a situation common across the social spectrum ⁷⁴. The "rank-and-file" working-class home of Margaret McCarthy's mother (McCarthy's grandfather was a weaver) was "darkly" brooded over by a stepmother, who starved, beat and exploited her stepchildren, forcing them to leave home early, propelling the girls into early marriage, in the case of her mother, to enter into "a most ill-conceived union" ⁷⁵. Higher up the social ladder and in the "officer" division, Joseph Rank, son of a flour mill owner, suffered callousness at the hands of his father's second wife. Her lack of sympathy translated into cruelty when she insisted Joseph wear boots too small for him, resulting in lameness in both feet: "It would not have been surprising if such experiences had had a crippling effect upon his spirit as well as his body". Such treatment did have a detrimental effect on him psychologically by retarding his development, making him appear "slow and indolent, not only to his unsympathetic stepmother, but also to his father, who appears to have regarded him as anything but a lad of promise" ⁷⁶.

In contrast, however, examination of Methodist accounts also reveals more successful relationships between stepmothers and stepchildren within both the middle and working classes, though evidence of such is confined to those subjects who had "ministerial" connections. For example, in the middle class, minister's son and elder half brother of James Harrison Rigg, John Clulow Rigg, enjoyed a close and fond relationship with his stepmother, witnessed by the affectionate correspondence between them ⁷⁷. William H Lax, who came from a working-class background, referred to his stepmother as "that godly woman", acknowledging "She was a mother indeed for more than thirty years, and I hold her memory in the greatest reverence" ⁷⁸.

Further happy examples concern children of the extended family ⁷⁹. Instances of such caring relationships occur within subject families of both the working and middle classes, who have "ministerial" or "officer" connections. Amongst the middle-class "ministerial" subjects, during the 1860s Hugh Price Hughes lived with his paternal grandparents for two years after leaving school ⁸⁰. In the same decade the young James Flanagan, of working-class origins, found a refuge from starvation and the violence of his drunkard father in the home of his Methodist aunt and uncle Vickers ⁸¹. Within the middle-class "officer" Gibbs family, after John Angel Gibbs (a successful ship's-chandler and Circuit Steward) died in 1884, his widow Elizabeth was installed at Penarth, a village near Cardiff, by her brother-in-law, William Benjamin Gibbs, so that he and his wife could help to rear her family⁸². Examples spill into the twentieth century, as Harold K Moulton, member of the extended "ministerial" Waddy family, went to live with an aunt and uncle after the death of his parents during the First World War - "Nothing could have been a more blessed event" ⁸³.

Unsurprisingly, considering the great diversity of Methodist homes, not all extended households proved happy places for child rearing. During the 1920s Leslie Weatherhead and his wife, Evelyn, shared a house for a short period with his two sisters and her parents, the Triggs. Tension and argument arose when Mrs Trigg and the Weatherhead sisters tried to instruct Evelyn on the care of her baby, a situation often necessitating Leslie "entering hotly into the engagement". Harmony was restored when Leslie and his wife left for Manchester to live in their own home ⁸⁴.

Instances found within the middle-class "officer" and "rank-and-file" categories reveal that childcare often extended to children from the extended "family" of the chapel and beyond, again, with varying degrees of success. In the second decade of the twentieth century, "officer" subject, Greta Barker, the daughter of a clothier, recalled fondly the kindly Mr and Mrs Dolling (one of whose sons became a minister), who took her and her sister in when her mother was taken to hospital. Less kind recollections were attached to the Morgans, another chapel family, who cared for the two girls while their mother tended their younger sister who was suffering from pneumonia. Barker was convinced these people only offered to provide refuge for her and her sister out of a sense of Christian duty rather than kindness or friendship. Mrs Morgan's dislike of children manifested itself in her banning them from the garden, preventing them from having books in the house, and sending them to bed with wet hair ⁸⁵. In a letter of April 1905 written to her friend Eva Slawson, "rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate (daughter of a clerk) related that she was unable to attend French and shorthand classes partly because she was having to care for Hebe, the child of a violent and drunken neighbour, whose wife had disappeared after attacking him with an axe ⁸⁶. Although these accounts were related

by middle-class subjects, the social status of the Dollings, the Morgans, or the child Hebe was unclear.

Such evidence revealing care for children who were not natural offspring echo the findings of research done into secular communities for the same period. For instance, in her study of working-class London for the period 1870-1918, Ross discovered that care and affection for children within the extended family, or simply within the neighbourhood was often in evidence. The common practice of children referring to adults in the neighbourhood as "aunt" or "uncle" indicated an implicit relationship between local adults and children. She found that in the poorest areas informal (sometimes permanent) adoptions by neighbours, motivated by compassion or affection, were not uncommon ⁸⁷.

Physical Care and Affection : (ii) the Father

In keeping with the dominant patriarchal ideology of the period, Connexional literature of the nineteenth century placed fathers at the head of the family, warning mothers against placing their offspring ahead of their husbands in their affections. A cautionary tale of 1891 related how a doting mother gave all her attention to her son, thus prompting her husband to remind her of the Scriptural question, "Am I not better to thee than ten sons?" This remonstrance, however, went unheeded, with the result that the indulged son ended up at the age of 28 a "Worn and wasted profligate", who died repentant in his father's arms ⁸⁸.

A sermon of 1872 solemnly proclaimed, "In a word, the father is the King and the Priest of the house, including children, dependants, visitors". However, this rule should be "guided by affection", for,

though the Word of God lays down that the wife is "subject" to her husband, this does not lower the status of her authority in the eyes of her children, for "The mother and father are to the family one...Remember there are not two independent reigns in your little kingdom. It is parental government administered by co-ordinate powers" ⁸⁹. The necessity of presenting a "united front" was emphasised in an earlier sermon of 1849, which exhorted, "if children are allowed to witness the disputes and disagreements of their parents, they will learn to despise the authority of both father and mother, and grow up self-willed and disobedient", but this sermon also emphasised the important status of the father as the provider, whose role it was "to carry on the business of life, and provide for his family" ⁹⁰.

Although Connexional writings attempted to ascribe some semblance of equality of power between mother and father, the above examples promote an image of a benevolent despotism, a regime promoted by "respectable" Victorian and Edwardian society. J H Plumb contends that, in Victorian society at large, "The family...was the citadel of morality and its defender, whose law must be explicitly obeyed, was the father" ⁹¹. Furthermore, accepting that the mother was subject to the father, then, as Paul Thompson asserts, there was no notion of equal rights for (Edwardian) children, instead there existed a "relationship of mutual obligation between parents and children which distinctly resembled that between master and servant" ⁹².

Both Thompson and David Roberts found that parental affection tended to be distant in the upper reaches of society, where children were handed over to the care of servants, lived in separate quarters within the household, and were only presented well scrubbed to meet their parents for a short time in the day. Roberts' study of 168 Victorian memoirs of the upper class revealed three common features of the

Victorian Paterfamilias - remoteness, sovereignty and benevolence - reinforced by education away from home, well established power and the financial dependence of the offspring on the parent ⁹³.

Evidence, found within "ministerial" and "officer" accounts, has revealed the presence of the Victorian Paterfamilias amongst Methodist families. Moreover, this phenomenon persisted into the twentieth century, and was not confined to middle class homes. Nineteenth century instances include that of the grocer father of the future minister, Samuel Collier, who was described as having a sternness "which made him more feared than loved" ⁹⁴. Within the "officer" division, devout Methodist Emerson Bainbridge, though a fond father, was remote. A stickler for punctuality, he would take the carriage and leave his son to walk home alone from the family business if the latter was not ready to leave at the same time as himself ⁹⁵. Remoteness between the father and his children was also to be found within the working class. William H Lax described his father as "a shadowy figure, barely discernible, in the background" ⁹⁶. In the next century, Bullock, writing of his upbringing in a mining community, commented on his own father: "There was no doubt about him being undisputed king of his own house" ⁹⁷.

However, the researcher is, at times, faced with contradictory perceptions of the same character. For instance, in what is termed by Nadel as an "analytical/interpretive" family biography, Taylor describes the Reverend George Macdonald as being a kindly, but rather remote figure, who was the ultimate authority in the household, and whose time was monopolised by preaching duties (which often necessitated several days' absence from home) and other services to his flock ⁹⁸. But in his more "dramatic/expressive" autobiography, Frederick Macdonald, although acknowledging that his father's authority within the home was "unquestioned", nevertheless recalled, "His genial

disposition and admirable social qualities made him generally beloved in private life". No mention was made of absences from, or his neglect of, the family home by this devoted son ⁹⁹. In the case of the Macdonald family, however, patriarchal authority appeared to have been sufficiently strong to encourage the Macdonald's eldest son, Harold - "the apple of his father's eye, and son of his right hand" - to follow in his father's footsteps by exercising a "quasi-feudal supremacy" over his younger siblings ¹⁰⁰.

' Despite designating the father as the prime authority in, and provider for, the family, Connexional writings manifested a degree of diversity by occasionally exhibiting a less autocratic perception of paternity. For instance, a sermon of 1872 encouraged the father of the family to be a "playfellow of little ones, the cheerful companion of the boys and the girls" ¹⁰¹. However, this liberalisation of the portrayal of fatherhood may not be solely ascribed to Methodism. It must be placed in the wider context. It may be directly linked to a trend detected by David Roberts in the Evangelical movement as a whole whereby Evangelicalism appeared to act as an agent for increasing warmth of father-child relationships in the Victorian period. The "new" fathers, exemplified in the (Quaker) Cadburys, took a keen interest in the welfare of their sons, visiting them at boarding school ¹⁰².

The discovery within Methodist personal accounts of such affectionate father-child relationships alongside the stern Victorian Paterfamilias affirms the multi-faceted nature of parental relationships within the movement, the diversity of which echoed that of the non-Methodist world. Fond fathers were found in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and within all categories and social classes. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, middle-class "officer" Joseph Rank would play with his children, "fully entering into their games and

frolics...those who encountered him only in business would have been surprised if they could have seen him at home, romping with the children" ¹⁰³. Similarly, Arthur Samuel Peake, the pioneer of ministerial training in Primitive Methodism, would set off fireworks on Gunpowder Day in the garden for his family, entering, "into the fun and frolic with all the enthusiasm of a child" ¹⁰⁴. A little further down the social scale local preacher Joseph Ashby endeavoured to share his children's lives, encouraging them to accompany him to work on his smallholding, and chatting to them about their day's activities at bedtime ¹⁰⁵. Amongst working-class subjects, Joseph Barlow Brooks recalled his father singing to his family, organising outings to the pantomime at Christmas, and supplying his children with chocolates on special occasions ¹⁰⁶.

Such paternal indulgence was evident into the next century. Unlike his own father, minister Leslie Weatherhead treated his sons like friends, finding amusement in their imitation of himself delivering sermons ¹⁰⁷. During the months following the birth of Kenneth, his first child, middle-class "officer" Thomas Wright charted the baby's progress almost daily. He read books about child care, took the baby for walks, and proudly recorded, "He is admired by all without exception" ¹⁰⁸. Within the same social stratum, among the "rank-and-file", Jack West's father helped his wife to bath his five children, and at times did the cooking. As a builder he was able to build toys for the children in the form of a "cabin" made out of an old horse-drawn coach, and a swing boat manufactured from an old pram ¹⁰⁹.

Inculcation of Morality - (i) Within the Home

Well into the twentieth century, Methodist ethos emphasised the spiritual aspect of parenthood. Methodism was a religion of the home, the place where, an article of 1850 declared, "a daily, hourly influence" could be exerted upon the child ¹¹⁰. Methodism was not alone in this respect, being typical of the Evangelical movement which, according to Bradley, established home as the centre of nineteenth-century life, since it was only in the bosom of the family that virtues could be cultivated ¹¹¹. The emphasis upon the family as the foundation upon which religious faith could be built was still apparent into the next century, as illustrated by a series of articles entitled "Our Homes and Families", dealing with prominent Methodist families, which appeared in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* in 1917 ¹¹².

Methodist personal sources of the nineteenth century affirmed this stance, as, for example, in the home of "officer" Joseph Ashby, where, during the last decades of the century God was portrayed as an all knowing greater parent ¹¹³. Employing a wider definition of family, Henry Hartley Fowler felt a strong kinship for all fellow Methodists, especially sons of ministers like himself: "However far they might have wandered from the fold of their fathers, it did not alter Fowler's feeling of kinship, and he would delight in tracing much of their prowess to their inherited religion, and the atmosphere of a Methodist minister's home" ¹¹⁴.

The importance of the home environment was illustrated by the continuing emphasis placed by Connexional literature upon parental guidance and example in the teaching of Christian values. Often the mother was designated as prime inculcator of morality in her children. According to an article of 1865, "She is their constant companion

through infancy...It is for her to bring before the unoccupied mind the elements of thought; to guide the earliest efforts of speech; to assist in the formation of ideas; and to direct the first moral movements of the soul" ¹¹⁵. However, other writings addressed both parents, as illustrated by an article of 1857, which reminded readers that, "From the earliest dawn of intelligence, the little one becomes an imitator"¹¹⁶. In 1890 they were again informed, "You have there the material out of which the Christian men and women of the next generation are to be made, and that material is largely under your influence, to be moulded by your teaching and example" ¹¹⁷. The importance of the elders' example was still stressed in the next century, as the *Methodist Recorder* of 1922 chided those who were concerned about "the coming generation", since they, themselves, "give...the impression they are switching off a certain amount of attention they might more profitably concentrate upon themselves" ¹¹⁸.

However, parental guidance and example could prove traumatic for the offspring. In the mid-nineteenth century minister's wife, the melancholic Hannah MacDonald, acted as the "beloved lynchpin" of her large family, but religion yielded her no comfort: "She saw only high ideals she failed to attain, which reinforced her innate sense of guilt and depression". Her grim vision of Methodism helped to repel her daughters from the movement, resulting in their exit from the society as soon as they were old enough to be able to choose to leave ¹¹⁹. More severely, Ruth, mother of future minister Leslie Weatherhead, herself a Sunday School teacher, was regarded by her son in his childhood at the end of the century as "a Christian of terrible and serious aspect", a "dominating woman". This description, according to Weatherhead's biographer son, "designated the kind of human being [Weatherhead] most disliked on earth" ¹²⁰.

On the other hand, not all Methodist parents failed as exemplars of Christianity. Successful parental role models were to be found especially in the sphere of "good works". A Connexional article of 1879 declared that organised charity "can never be a substitute for those private duties which every Christian owes his fellow men, especially to the poor" ¹²¹. In this respect, "ministerial" and "officer" subject accounts present excellent parental models for Christian behaviour. The future minister Henry Lunn (born in 1859), son of a prominent lay churchman, recalled his mother's example of practical Christianity in visiting elderly widows throughout the year and distributing tea and sugar to them at Christmas ¹²². In the next century another prominent (but poor) chapel family, the Hawkers, demonstrated an even greater devotion to Connexional promulgations, allowing their effects to profoundly permeate family life. Mr Hawker, though often out of work due to ill health, proved a shining example of Christianity by caring for an old man suffering from creeping paralysis who had been taken into the family home. Other unfortunates taken into Beatrice Hawker's home to receive care from her parents included an old lady, a girl with an illegitimate baby, and various tramps ¹²³.

However, exemplary behaviour on the part of parents did not ensure that offspring would emulate them spiritually or morally. Although the example set by Methodist benefactor Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge was followed by his son, Thomas Hudson Bainbridge (who, on his father's death in 1892, took over his position as class leader), Thomas' own son, Jack, abandoned Methodism. Indeed, far from devoting himself to chapel activities or good works, Jack spent much of his spare time car rallying. Moreover, his house (laughingly nicknamed "Virtue Villa" by the younger members of his family) lacked the atmosphere of quiet piety which had dominated the households of his father and grandfather, being

a place in which he devoted many evenings to the entertaining of actresses ¹²⁴.

Besides urging practical demonstration of Christian values within the family, Connexional literature of the second half of the nineteenth century was typical of Evangelicalism in emphasising the duty of the Methodist family to observe Christian ritual within the home. One of the most obvious manifestations of this phenomenon was family prayers, a practice which served to reinforce the spiritual unity of the family. However, this ritual was not confined to the Evangelical movement. In the secular world it was a practice widespread throughout the "respectable" upper and middle classes from the 1830s onwards. In addition, it had connotations of social class. According to Davidoff, this ritual, whereby the whole household of both family and servants gathered together daily in a cultural interaction across the social scale, reinforced the idea of community or "family", "an organic whole made up of functionally separate parts". Nevertheless, the hierarchy of power within the household was reinforced by the seating arrangements - adult family in front, then children, with servants behind. Such employment of religious ritual, so overtly reinforcing the societal status quo, surely affirms those connections made by Best between respectability, morality and religion ¹²⁵.

Official Methodist writings also appeared to endorse this ritual as a means of social reinforcement. For example, by urging the combined assembly of the family, servants and household guests in the morning and evening, when their prayers might include "adoration and thanks for family and national mercies" ¹²⁶, a sermon of 1872 presented family prayer as an agent for underpinning both the "family" of the household and that of the nation.

Connexional exhortations of the mid-nineteenth century implied that, as priest of the household, it was the role of the Methodist patriarch to lead the family in prayer. A sermon of 1849 reminded the father of the family of his duty to worship God "morning and evening, at least, with your household". "It is desirable that every Christian's house should resemble a temple, and his family a church, where the members are instructed and trained up for heaven" ¹²⁷. Other articles were less precise concerning who should conduct such ritual, but the need for family worship continued to be stressed. An article of 1870 insisted: "Let the Bible be honoured; let family prayer be maintained" ¹²⁸.

Personal accounts from amongst the "ministerial" and "officer" categories of both the middle and working classes reflect the importance of family prayer throughout the nineteenth century. The biography of the wealthy Bainbridges (many of whom, such as Cuthbert Bainbridge, were active workers for the chapel) recorded that servants were expected to attend family prayers on Sunday morning - though no mention was made of the seating arrangements ¹²⁹. Other accounts emphasised the profound effect of such gatherings. For instance, within the working-class Lax family, the young future minister William was converted during family prayers at the age of 11. Moreover, prayers did not need to be fixed to specific times of the day. Lax's father would often break into spontaneous prayers: "without the slightest incongruity he could pray with the people with whom he had been enjoying a hearty laugh only a minute before" ¹³⁰. Often stress was placed upon the father's role in this ritual. The leading Wesleyan, John Scott Lidgett, recorded that family prayers "made an ineffaceable impression" on his childhood, "I cannot help thinking that it has been owing to the subconscious influence of my father, taken away from us before I was fifteen years of age, that I owe the fact that my

subsequent theological work has been directed to establishing the primacy of the Fatherhood of God" ¹³¹.

As in other areas of Methodist family life, there were variations in practice, exemplified by those middle-class "ministerial" personal accounts which reveal that it was not always the father who instigated prayer. As a young man Peter Thompson was apt to fall down on his knees in prayer as the spirit moved him. On one occasion, his sister and father finding him at prayer in the kitchen, joined him. As his sister later recalled, "These things were not strange in the home. They were of its essence" ¹³². Leslie Weatherhead reported that his mother conducted the morning family prayers at the turn of the century after his father had "escaped" to work ¹³³, indicating a possible reluctance on the part of the family patriarch to fulfil his spiritual obligations.

Indeed, evidence suggests that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a change in attitude towards family prayer amongst Methodist families. That paternal reluctance to conduct this ritual was becoming increasingly common was indicated by the biography of Henry Fowler, written in 1919, which deplored the "modern idea" that it was sufficient for the mother of the family to be religious and take responsibility for the spiritual upbringing of the children, a viewpoint in contradiction to the early Methodist tenet that "Himself believed and his whole house" ¹³⁴. Moreover, Connexional literature of the early twentieth century indicated a decline in family prayers in its plea for the revival of domestic worship in an article of 1905: "Once the home seemed the centre of things. Now it is a place to eat and sleep, a sort of barracks or club" ¹³⁵.

Nevertheless, such a decline was not uniform throughout the Connexion, as two personal accounts of "officer" subjects reveal that prayers did continue in some households during the first decades of the twentieth century. In the working-class Bullock home regular prayers took place in which beneficial happenings, such as the installation of electricity in the home in 1919, were attributed to God, and misfortunes blamed on other agencies, such as colliery managers and owners ¹³⁶. Similarly, further up the social scale, Thomas Wright's diary entry of 6 February 1915 recorded: "Commenced family prayer - this evening we [himself and Ethel his wife of a few months] have been alone in our own home, and we chose to commence this practice when we are alone" ¹³⁷.

Throughout the whole period of this study, religion within Methodist homes of all categories across the social spectrum also manifested itself prominently in Sunday Observance, a phenomenon which could also profoundly influence the moral and spiritual training of the child. Connexional literature of both the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was eager to point out the advantages of keeping the Sabbath free from worldly concerns, often illustrating those material rewards which might accrue from its sanctification. An article of 1857 equated Sabbath Observance with wealth and power: "where the Sabbath is most sacredly observed, there is the greatest amount of national wealth and power" ¹³⁸. In 1865 it was suggested that resting on the Sabbath could improve the intellect: "Even many a sleeping genius, reposing within the curtains of its own unconscious powers has been awakened to hope and action by the instructions of the Sabbath; and many a germ of thought which other wise had wasted its fragrance on the air, has taken root and bloomed in this consecrated soil" ¹³⁹. An article of 1885 deplored the use of the Sabbath as a day of pleasure as "debasing to the mind, destructive to the morals, and injurious at length even to the body" ¹⁴⁰. More specifically, the delights of Sunday cinema were

condemned in 1925: "The kind of excitement which the average cinema offers is not conducive to rest...In the main it is merely a prolongation of Saturday's dissipation with an exaggeration of its fatigue" ¹⁴¹. The same article equated Sabbath Observance with the wider issue of patriotism, convinced that the loss of a day of rest "will mean a serious loss to the quality of life of the race...The danger in a free country that freedom should be converted into a license which means injury" ¹⁴².

It has been also suggested that the rise of the Victorian Sunday symbolised the extent to which religion acted as an agent for control both in society at large, and also within the family. Certainly, it had strong connotations of social class. Wigley contends that the Sabbatarian movement, which enjoyed significant influence by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, was primarily a middle-class movement: "The Victorian Sunday was produced by the middle class, which had evolved a religious phenomenon, Sabbatarianism, that was attuned to its own condition" ¹⁴³. In the 1890s Charles Booth, writing about London, maintained, "The Churches have come to be regarded as the last resorts of the well-to-do, and of those willing to accept the charity and patronage of people better off than themselves" ¹⁴⁴. This viewpoint is reinforced by Pamela Horn who sees the lingering influence of the clergy on the poor in many "closed" rural parishes allied to their power to bestow or withhold from parishioners local charitable or educational benefits ¹⁴⁵. Indeed, Bailey contends that attendance at Sunday School by the poor in order to obtain benefits, such as excursions or other treats, may be viewed as just one of the versions (in this instance, one which assumes a calculative function) of the dynamic, "polyvalent" respectability, which was practised by the Victorian working class ¹⁴⁶.

The middle-class concern with the spiritual welfare of the lower social orders, which was inherent in Sabbatarianism, was indicated by a Connexional article of 1857, in which the fear was expressed that the working class were more open to Sabbath breaking than their social superiors. In an exhortation to Sunday-School teachers it described the children of the former as "confined during the week in factories and other workplaces, with few opportunities for pleasure and recreation, and to whom temptations to desecrate God's holy day are presented with greater force than to many other in more favourable circumstances" ¹⁴⁷.

Of course, in a heterogeneous secular society not all of the middle class were under the spell of the Sabbatarian movement. As Wigley points out, although by the 1850s many nonconformist churches had accepted the ethos of social Sabbatarianism, whereby voluntary abstention from amusements had most salutary social effects, they were reluctant to support the legal enactments advocated by the Sabbatarian movement ¹⁴⁸. In fact, as McLeod emphasises, the diversity of attitudes within society meant that there was no standardised pattern of keeping Sunday, whose basic ingredients for many families included religious observance, spending time with family and friends, eating better food, wearing best clothes, rest from work and some amusement, all of which formed part of an "interlocking whole" ¹⁴⁹. Thus, in a multiplicity of ways, did many families strive to keep a quiet and "respectable" Sunday.

In contrast, however, Methodist personal accounts generally presented an image of spiritual observance of the Sabbath, as, throughout the whole period under investigation, many of the subject families - within all categories and social classes - laid aside their daily toil. During the nineteenth century the "rank-and-file" shopkeeper Tyrrells ensured that all preparation work for the Sabbath, including cutlery

polishing, brass cleaning, and yard swilling, was carried out on Saturday. Only water was drunk with Sunday lunch, tea being regarded as an extravagance on that day ¹⁵⁰. One of Elizabeth Roberts' Methodist subjects recorded that her paternal grandmother, herself the mother of lay preachers, refused to even wash a dish on the Sabbath ¹⁵¹. Within the "ministerial" category, the working-class family of William Lax also suspended normal duties, ensuring even that Sunday lunch was of the simplest fare. For him the Sabbath of his childhood was "a glorious happy day", unlike those of the present day (namely, the 1930s) when Sundays are "spent in open disregard of divine sanctions and in frantic seeking after pleasure" ¹⁵².

Moreover, personal accounts found within the "officer" category reveal that similar Sunday Observance continued in many Methodist families into the twentieth century, exemplified by the working-class Bullocks who did no work except feed the pigs, rabbits and other animals ¹⁵³. Further up the social scale, Thomas Wright, fearful that he was showing insufficient respect for that day, recorded in his New Year's resolution at the beginning of his diary for 1911, "That I endeavour to reserve the Sabbath as an almost absolute day of rest" ¹⁵⁴. But, personal accounts also reveal that a desire to rest from the toils of the week was not confined to those connected with any religious denomination. Wesley Perrins (whose father was a nailmaker and Sunday School Superintendent) remembered the nailmakers of Lye, many of whom did not attend Sunday services, demonstrating outside the home of a neighbour who had decided to make nails on a Sunday ¹⁵⁵.

Sabbath Observance did not only entail rest from the weekly labours for the adult members of the family, since children were also expected to refrain from their usual activities. Although Kenneth Brown contends that, during the period 1850-1914, "sabbatarianism and the religious

beliefs and practices in which it was rooted were losing something of their hold in these years, with a consequent relaxation of the domestic rules applying to children's play" ¹⁵⁶, personal accounts revealed restrictions being placed upon children's Sabbath activities into the twentieth century amongst "officer" and "rank-and-file" families across the social spectrum. Working-class Beatrice Hawker was forbidden to play with skipping-rope and ball. Middle-class Margaret Rhodes (whose family, unlike that of Hawker, held no chapel office), on being detected by her grandmother riding her bicycle on that day recalled, "...the bathroom window was opened, and there was the dreaded big black bosom leaning out, and grandmother was shouting". Needless to say, she did not dare to repeat the experience. Another "rank-and-filer" (but lower in the social hierarchy than the Rhodes family), Will Askham, the son of a quarryman, was obliged to put away his toys on Saturday night, and they were not to be retrieved until Monday ¹⁵⁷.

Despite its widespread observance within the Connexion, there was a diversity in attitudes towards the Sabbath throughout the period researched. Besides those who welcomed Sunday as an opportunity for spiritual renewal, a small minority of subjects manifested a resentment towards, and even avoidance of, its ritual. For instance, barrister Ernest Belfort Bax, son of a middle-class "rank-and-file" family, presented a rather unpleasantly intrusive image of the Sabbath of his childhood in the 1850s and 1860s as he recalled, "The Horror and tedium of Sunday affected more or less the whole of the latter portion of the week" ¹⁵⁸. In the first decade of the twentieth century Basil Willey's father, a businessman and son of a minister, openly encouraged his son to avoid chapel by taking him on walks during summer Sunday evenings. Mr Willey felt a "misfit in the congregation...he had outgrown the formulae of Victorian evangelicalism, and felt uncomfortable amongst those who still accepted or repeated them" ¹⁵⁹. In this instance,

irreconcilable incompatibility between personal and Connexional values led to his estrangement from the Methodist movement.

Inculcation of Morality - (ii) External Agencies

Chapel attendance was central to the Sabbath, the importance of which was, unsurprisingly, emphasised by official writings. A salutary tale in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* of 1850 related the story of a group of young men who, on leaving their homes, went to live in London, and were lured from church attendance, instead enjoying lives of expensive entertainments, fraud and debt. The result of this decadence was "loss of business, loss of character, loss of friends; and in the end was remorse, disease and death" ¹⁶⁰.

Methodist personal accounts recall regular and multiple Sunday attendances at chapel in all categories of family in both the working and middle classes, and throughout the period of this thesis. Amongst those families which, during the nineteenth century, attended morning and evening chapel services and, possibly, prayer meetings (in addition to sending their children to Sunday-School), is that of the minister E Benson Perkins, whose father was a merchant tailor, chapel trustee and steward. Perkins enthusiastically remembered as "bracing" the regime whereby his family walked the two miles to and from chapel twice or three times during the day ¹⁶¹. Moreover, such devoted attendance was not confined to the middle-class "ministerial" family. Thomas Raymont, the son of a farrier (and brother to two future ministers), recalled that the Sunday of his childhood was the "hardest day" of the week, when his nose was kept to the "religious grindstone" - hardly as enthusiastic a description as that of Perkins, but one which highlights

the diversity in attitude towards chapel attendance within the Methodist membership ¹⁶².

Multiple attendances were revealed within both "officer" and "rank-and-file" subject families of both the working and middle classes into the next century. The former was exemplified by the working-class Bullocks, who attended chapel three times a day, and by two middle-class Methodist subjects of Roberts who attended on at least as many occasions. "Rank-and-file" devotion was illustrated by the Whitlocks, a farming family, whose ritual included attendance at two services, two prayer meetings and Sunday School ¹⁶³.

Sunday School was an important agency in the religious training of the young. This movement, which peaked with a membership of six million pupils in 1906, had, in F M L Thompson's words, been founded in the 1790s by middle-class gentry and evangelicals "to train the lower classes in habits of industry and piety" ¹⁶⁴. Similarly, T W Laqueur asserts that their intention was "...to elevate them above the mire and sin and deprivation into which they had fallen, and thereby assure the harmony and continuity of an hierarchic society of orders" ¹⁶⁵. But, Thompson contends, by the mid-nineteenth century, Sunday Schools had been transformed into a vehicle for the transmission of working-class evangelism, involving both religion and practical literacy skills ¹⁶⁶.

As may be expected, throughout the whole period covered by this study, Connexional writing emphasised the spiritual purpose of this institution, namely, the salvation of souls ¹⁶⁷. However, the official perception of the Sunday School did change in certain respects during the second half of the nineteenth century, as its sphere of recruitment widened in order to cater for the changing needs of the Methodist

movement occasioned by its shift in nature (at both an institutional and personal level) and numerical strength.

In the mid-nineteenth century Methodist Officialdom appeared to place Sunday Schools in a subordinate position to parents in respect of the religious training of children. A sermon of 1849 addressed to parents stated that this agency was "to supply, as far as possible, the want [of training], arising from the negligence of undutiful parents"¹⁶⁸. This assertion was underlined by an injunction of 1865 on the role of parents in religious training: "Let it be most distinctly understood that no Sunday School instruction can supersede this duty, or atone for the neglect of it" ¹⁶⁹.

However, by the 1870s there appeared to be a change in policy as emphasis shifted to the inclusion of all children within its sphere. An article of 1873 on "A Model Sabbath-School" stressed that all children, rich and poor, should be welcomed - whereas "other schools may yield to a prevalent and powerful temptation to gather their children from the middle and upper classes" ¹⁷⁰. Significantly, a sermon of 1876 described Sunday School as a place where "the first impulses of religious life are imparted" ¹⁷¹, implying approval of a fragmentation, or, even possibly, a total shift, in the source of religious knowledge in the lives of the young. However, such sentiments may have been motivated by more pragmatic considerations, since an assertion of 1890 regretfully acknowledged the spiritual shortcomings in many families: "In the homes of professed Christians the way of life is too seldom taught to children" ¹⁷². Such a stern rebuke might have been occasioned by the growth of secularisation within Methodist homes. Possibly, members were increasingly compartmentalising chapel attendance, considering Sabbath exhortations relating to the spiritual training of children as irrelevant to their daily lives.

For the optimum impact it was important to recruit scholars as young as possible: "Though the mind of a child is as impressionable as wax, when an impression is once made there, it is as durable as if it were made of iron" ¹⁷³. In this way it was possible to counteract "free thought" - "one of the strongest chains of spiritual bondage ever wielded by Satan" ¹⁷⁴. Thus, Sunday-School teachers were entreated: "Do not despise little ones...which is better, to save the blighted rose from mildew, or to keep the tiny rosebud untainted?" ¹⁷⁵. Connexional writings around the mid-nineteenth century instructed teachers to take a sympathetic approach towards their young charges, to appreciate the limitations of their ability to learn. An article of 1865 warned: "The mind of a child has not been inaptly compared to a bottle with a neck so small that he would fill it can only do so by pouring in a few drops at a time" ¹⁷⁶. In order to retain the attention of infants, teachers were advised to make lessons short. In addition, stubbornness should be met with kind words: "no teacher can retire from a conflict with an infant, and feel pleased that he has frightened him into submission"¹⁷⁷.

However, the most severe disciplinary problems lay in the senior classes, amongst those young persons who had gone out into the world of work. Here, there appeared conflict between the ethos of Methodism and that of the wider society. An article of 1865 implied that such problems were likely to be found amongst working-class scholars by condemning the workshop as a place, "where everything 'fast', and dashing, and positive is applauded; where meekness, modesty, and obedience are treated as weaknesses" ¹⁷⁸. At the turn of the century the senior class of boys was described (without class differentiation) as a company of "the most thoughtlessness and least reverence" ¹⁷⁹. Indeed, in 1909 Thomas Wright wearily but hopefully recorded: "Rough time with

my [senior] class. Shall win their confidence soon. Sunday-School teachers must have patience" ¹⁸⁰.

Connexional writing during the latter half of the nineteenth century evinced concern about the quality and quantity of Sunday-School teachers. The shortage of numbers was often associated with the effects of the secular world. In 1865 an appeal for more teachers suggested that Sunday-School work could save young men from the "heart-hardening and soul-narrowing" anxieties of business and professional life ¹⁸¹. An article of 1890 bemoaned the many excuses made to avoid taking on this task, amongst which was the unavailability of time when there was "ample time to read novels and make quilts" ¹⁸².

Bearing in mind the importance of the Sunday-School teacher's role ("the spiritual destinies of the world are inwoven with the faithful performance of his duties" ¹⁸³), throughout the second half of the nineteenth century rules were continually laid down concerning the behaviour and performance of teachers. For instance, the Wesleyan Sunday School in Stafford resolved at a teachers' meeting in 1853: "That a fine of one penny be levied on each teacher ...who is not present at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, and at half past one in the afternoon, except they be unavoidably detained" ¹⁸⁴. In 1890 teachers were enjoined to make thorough preparation for classes: "Hasty Saturday night or Sunday noon pilferings from the Commentary are unbeaten oil that no one has a right to bring into the sanctuary" ¹⁸⁵. Moreover, duties were to extend beyond the classroom, as teachers were encouraged to visit scholars at home during the week in order to get to know their families, to endeavour to recruit more scholars from among the friends of those already attending classes, to visit sick scholars, and to invite scholars to their own homes for tea ¹⁸⁶.

Many Sunday-School teachers did extend their duties beyond the Sabbath. In 1860, at the Wesleyan chapel in Bilston, Messrs John Shelley and Horatio Green, seeing the need to further the education of scholars, began to give classes in science at their homes ¹⁸⁷. Indeed, it was not uncommon for Sunday Schools at this time to extend the educational opportunities of scholars, as illustrated by an article of 1873, which acknowledged the effect of the 1870 education legislation on this duty: "The time is coming, we believe, when the Sunday-School teacher may look upon himself as relieved from all obligation to give instruction in any other R but religion" ¹⁸⁸. This statement reinforces Laqueur's assertion that, "by the mid-Victorian era the early nineteenth century Sunday School was almost a symbol of working-class advancement through self-help" ¹⁸⁹. There is also some indication that, in places, the teachers, themselves, were in need of education. For instance, Thomas Raymont recorded that the teaching staff at his childhood chapel at Tavistock in Devon in the 1870s were illiterate ¹⁹⁰.

Illiterate or not, Sunday-School teachers were responsible for the spiritual training of considerable numbers of children throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. By 1836 the Wesleyans had 341,442 scholars, a number which had risen to 740,000 by 1877 ¹⁹¹. The Primitive Methodist Conference Minutes of 1890 recorded a roll of 431,868 ¹⁹². In 1933, after reunification, the combined Methodist roll for England and Wales was 1,297,953 ¹⁹³.

It was vital to maintain large numbers since, as the Connexion evolved in the latter half of the nineteenth century from a sect to a denomination, the latter increasingly dependent upon endogenous recruitment, the Sunday School was viewed as the major conduit for new members. This role became especially vital after the down turn of membership figures in relation to the population at large which began

in the early 1880s. The Primitive Methodist Conference Address of 1890 declared that in the Sunday School: "You have the material out of which the Christian men and women of the next generation are to be made" ¹⁹⁴. However, as early as 1873 a Wesleyan article betrayed fears that the institution was failing in this task: "We have had six hundred thousand children in our schools, and have been getting, perhaps twenty thousand gathered into the churches...the Sunday School has been building arches to the church, but somehow there is a broken arch" ¹⁹⁵. Sykes' research into Dudley and the Gornals in the early decades of the next century reveals this loosening of ties with church and chapel as scholars reached the last year of Sunday School. Parents, who were themselves not regular church attenders, but who had formerly insisted their children attended Sunday School, no longer expected their children to attend once they started work. A Methodist subject recalled: "They went to church as they went to day school. They believed they should go until old enough to think for themselves. Some carried on throughout their lives, some til their late teens" ¹⁹⁶.

Consequently, Connexional literature of the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries evinced the desire to tie children permanently to the chapel at as early an age as possible. An article of 1885 in the *Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine* suggested that to encourage Sunday-School scholars to take up membership, they should be trained to take part in the singing and responses of divine worship¹⁹⁷. Another of its articles in the same year advocated the tailoring of services to attract the attention of children, shaping sermons in such a way that "the average intelligent child will understand" ¹⁹⁸. In 1905 the *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, apparently unconcerned whether or not children would understand the proceedings, dismissed any notion of separate services for children: "It is not so much what children understand that matters, it is vastly more to

implant a sense of duty, evoke a spirit of enquiry, feed the imagination, inspire an early recognition of the trend in which life should run" ¹⁹⁹. Some chapels evidently embraced this policy. For instance, Beatrice Hawker recorded that children would file into morning service after Sunday School ended ²⁰⁰.

Officialdom also emphasised the need for early conversion, as an article in the *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine* of 1857 asserted, "Youthful conversions are far more probable than the conversion of grown-up persons" ²⁰¹. Similarly, the same publication of 1890 attested, "The opinion sometimes advanced, that children are to be taught no religion until they are old enough to think and judge and choose for themselves, is unscriptural, false, and most dangerous" ²⁰².

While such comments promoted the desirability of early assimilation into the chapel "family", there was not total agreement throughout the Connexion on the issue. Leading Methodist, Sir Henry Lunn, writing in 1918, displayed some caution concerning potentially premature conversion, which had inherent dangers for the young who had not yet received sufficient training in ethics and doctrine. Himself having been "converted" at the age of nine, he proclaimed, "The dangers of this position for one so young cannot be overstated, I shudder to recall certain phases of spiritual pride, certain manifestations of religious conceit, which would seem almost incredible if recorded" ²⁰³. Nevertheless, other Methodist personal accounts of subjects from the "ministerial" and "officer" categories indicate that some parents were striving towards this goal. Introductions to chapel could take place at a very early stage, exemplified by the mother of the future minister William Lax (born 1868, the son of an iron moulder) taking her baby to the communion rail. This practice was still observed by some members

half a century later when, Kenneth, son of draughtsmen "officer" Thomas Wright, was introduced to the chapel aged only a few days ²⁰⁴.

However, despite being introduced to chapel ritual during childhood, not all the young relished the experience. S J Tyrrell recalled that as a child he used to fall asleep if the preacher was boring ²⁰⁵. Moreover, dissatisfaction was not confined to the very young, nor to the "rank-and-file". Minister's daughter, Helen McKenny, aged 27, complained in her diary in 1885, "I get so tired of services, services, sermons, sermons" ²⁰⁶. Sometimes services were the unwitting occasions for mirth. Ruth Slate and her friend, Eva Slawson, (both in their early 20s) showed considerable lack of respect in one service when they collapsed in laughter after witnessing a series of events including the "contortions" and "agonised tones" of Mrs Wales during the hymn singing, the creaking of boots of an elderly gentleman during the long pauses in the prayers, and the exhortation of the preacher for "our fleshy hearts to be turned to stone" (instead of "our stony hearts turned to flesh") ²⁰⁷.

Inculcation of Morality - (iii) Discipline and Duty in the Young

Such antics would not, of course, have met with approval in Connexional literature which, throughout the whole period of this thesis, was at pains to stress the inculcation of obedience in children and young persons. As in the case of religious training, the necessity of making a start at an early an age as possible was stressed by the frequency with which the quotation "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it" made an appearance in its pages ²⁰⁸. According to an article of 1850, once obedience is gained, "the growing soul is easily formed under the

plastic hand of parental love" ²⁰⁹. The endurance of this imagery of plasticity was attested to by an 1920 article addressed to mothers: "The plastic years of childhood are in your keeping, and justice, truth, and gentleness, mercy and loving kindness, purity and infinite faith in God the Father are the bricks with which you can build - if you will - souls that will last for all eternity" ²¹⁰. This emphasis on the use of love in the training of children was similarly durable, as in the previous century an article of 1865 had enjoined parents to create an "affectionate confidence" in children, which would avoid the need to resort to the "mandate of naked authority" by parents, endowing them with "almost irresistible power to control the rising thought" with the result that the child's will blends with that of the parent, and obedience becomes that of will and choice" ²¹¹.

However, despite this focus upon love, articles throughout the period of this research discouraged the spoiling of children. In 1873, it was suggested that parents who spoil children were themselves deficient in common sense, since they designated their offspring as "little nuisances" in the eyes of society ²¹². Over 50 years later, an obituary of 1925 in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* reinforced this official stance by praising the deceased Mrs Hopwood: "She was kindness itself, but she never spoiled her family with weak indulgence" ²¹³.

Similarly, the necessity for firmness and self-control on the part of the parent in the creation and maintenance of obedience in children was a constant theme of Connexional writings. In one of his lectures, delivered in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, John Ashworth advocated a "quiet mode of speaking along with [an] imperative firmness.... Never give an order to a child that you don't intend to have carried out" ²¹⁴. An article of 1870 asserted that beating in anger was "an outburst of wild ungovernable passion, [rather] than an act of

useful and necessary discipline" ²¹⁵. The necessity of self-control continued to be emphasised in the next century, for in 1925 the reader was warned, "Unpremeditated crimes have resulted from free indulgence of angry and bitter thoughts" ²¹⁶.

Such notions of obedience and self-control had direct links with the secular world. According to James Walvin, in the Victorian period "it might be argued that obedience was seen as the greatest of all virtues in children" ²¹⁷. Moreover, self-control was consistent with the prevailing ethos of the wider "respectable" society. As John Stuart Mill contended, "nearly every respectable attribute of humanity is the result, not of instinct, but a victory of self-discipline over instinct" ²¹⁸.

Promulgations regarding the disciplining of children had strong overtones of social class. Many of the Victorian "respectable" middle class accused the working class of not disciplining their children. According to F M L Thompson, "many feared that future generations of unruly barbarians who would be uncontrollable social perils were being reared in the uncontrolled heathen anarchy that seemed to masquerade as home for so many children" ²¹⁹.

Such attitudes can be traced in Connexional literature. While not specifically raising considerations of social class, the fear of social chaos was inherent in a sermon of 1849 which firmly designated parents as "great national reformers" with the "opportunity of poisoning or healing society at its source" ²²⁰. Official Methodism's ongoing concern for the nation's welfare was still apparent 70 years later, during the hostilities of 1917, when effective parental control was equated with patriotism: "every child you train may be a power for good in the

State, or a power for evil; each child helps or hinders national progress" ²²¹.

However, despite the concerns of "respectability" and the Connexion, most children, as Thompson points out, were well regulated and disciplined ²²². Vigne's study of families across the social spectrum for the period 1890-1918 found that many households insisted on early bedtimes and instilled table manners into children, sometimes imposing silence at mealtimes (a habit rarer in the middle class and in families where there were less than five children, and which tended to recede as the twentieth century progressed) ²²³. Methodist families also followed these rules. One of Elizabeth Roberts' "rank-and-file" Methodist subjects (born in the 1880s, whose family rose from the working to the middle class), remembered that at mealtimes, he and his siblings were expected to stand until they were old enough to earn a wage, at which time they merited a chair ²²⁴. Regulation of offspring was not necessarily confined to childhood, as another of Roberts' "rank-and-file" subjects recalled how, when in her teens or beyond (a period of her life which began in the second decade of the twentieth century), her father would sit up at night waiting for her to come home. One night she came home at 10pm to find him waiting for her with a stick²²⁵.

It is unclear whether official Methodism condoned corporal punishment for those who had reached their teens. However, there appeared to be no qualms about administering it whenever necessary to younger children, indicated by the frequency of use in Connexional literature of biblical quotations such as "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him", and "He that spareth the rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chastiseth him betimes" ²²⁶.

In its advocacy of physical punishment the Connexion echoed a substantial sector of opinion in the secular world. Roberts found obedience was expected and received from children, corporal punishment for wrongdoing being fairly common among her subjects, including those from Methodist families ²²⁷. Indeed, one of the latter, a "rank-and-filer", recalled, "It is not the first time I felt his clog up by bottom" ²²⁸. This form of chastisement was also found in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries amongst other subject families of all categories and social classes. For instance, within the working-class "officer" division, Beatrice Hawker's mother would occasionally beat her, but only when she was guilty of "thoughtless cruelty" to either people or animals ²²⁹. Amongst the middle-class "rank-and-filers", the father of S J Tyrrell had a hot temper which occasionally led him to use a leather slipper on his sons and daughters. At times he had to be restrained by his wife, who would have to remind him "That's enough, Joe" ²³⁰. Within the middle-class "ministerial" subjects, Leslie Weatherhead recalled his mother's cruel beatings whenever he broke the rules ²³¹.

Roberts found that, from an early age, children were expected to know the difference between right and wrong ²³². S S Tamke's study of hymnody revealed that intense belief in the moral depravity of children was thriving in "respectable" Victorian society, exemplified in a children's hymn by "Old Satan is then very nigh./Delighted thus that they have shown/ A murdering spirit; and why?/ Because 'tis akin to its own" ²³³. This doctrine of Original Sin, ascribing evil from birth, current within the non-Methodist world, was reaffirmed in official Methodist writings during the nineteenth century, as embodied in the 1873 proclamation: "There is very conclusive proof that children are born with evil natures..no child that, left to itself, would not bring its mother to shame" ²³⁴. Moreover, "it is only the parental hand which,

at this early period, has the opportunity of crushing the young buds of rising evil, directing the mind into a proper train of thought, and exciting in the heart right feelings" ²³⁵.

The belief that God could see all wrongdoing was illustrated by a hymn from the *Methodist Sunday School Hymnbook* (1879): "There is an eye that never sleeps / Beneath the wing of night; / There is an ear that never shuts / when sink the beams of light" ²³⁶. Sometimes Divine Providence appeared to send a dreadful retribution for disobedience. This theme was not confined to the writings of religious bodies, being frequently found in that of moral crusaders such as the Band of Hope, exemplified in a poem relating the punishment meted out to a girl who disobeyed her mother by playing with matches: "Poor Susie lost her curls,/And burned her feet and hands,/All because she would not mind/ Her mamma's kind commands" ²³⁷. It also was one which had direct links to secular literature aimed at a more general audience. In Mrs Sherwood's *The Fairchild Family* (a work originally published in 1818, though new editions were issued into the twentieth century)²³⁸ little Emily stole some damsons with the result that she dreamt that "a dreadful eye" was following her with angry looks ²³⁹.

This novel also illustrated another form of punishment, namely, psychological pressure, which was applied to inflict guilt and remorse upon the errant child, a procedure which was felt to be particularly apt when dealing with inherently sinful natures. This mode of chastisement was favoured by both "respectable" secular and Connexional writings. In the former, after the Fairchild children confessed their wrongdoings to their mother, she told them to ask God for forgiveness. They did this, and on the following day they again confronted her. She granted forgiveness, but at a price: "Then the children looked at their mamma's eyes and they were full of tears, and they felt more sorry to

think how greatly they had grieved their kind mother; and when their mamma kissed them, and put her arms round their necks, they cried more than ever" ²⁴⁰. In a Connexional story published in 1850 a mother called to her a child, who had given way to anger, "My dear boy...do you know that you have done very wickedly; that you have not only grieved your mother, but sinned against that blessed God who takes care of you" ²⁴¹.

Methodist personal accounts presented similar situations which occurred in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Within the "ministerial" category, the biography of working-class Thomas Champness recalled that "reference to bringing grey hairs on his mother's head would bring tears to his eyes" ²⁴². However, such treatment was not confined to the nineteenth century, to the working class, or to those destined to be prominent in the Methodist movement. In 1900 the middle-class "rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate was accused by her mother of having "no power of feeling". These accusations appeared to have had a cumulative effect, since a few years later Ruth wrote, "Such a sense of shame and depression comes over me when I think how wicked I am" ²⁴³.

However, as in other aspects of family relationships, societal attitudes towards the purity or otherwise of children were not homogeneous. Tamke found that this dark imagery of childhood co-existed with ideals of purity and innocence, exemplified by the children's hymn, assuring them that Jesus would guard and protect, "Evil shall never harm you, / Danger shall ne'er affright, / For I will ever have you / Closely beneath my sight" ²⁴⁴. Similarly, from a more secular viewpoint, aspects of a more lenient approach to child-rearing have been detected in research carried out on periods beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth century. For instance, Paul Thompson detected among the wealthy "progressive" parents to whom punishment was taboo, health reasons often being sought for bad behaviour ²⁴⁵. Moreover,

according to Charles Booth, children of working-class Londoners were "more likely to suffer from spoiling than from harshness" ²⁴⁶. Furthermore, Roberts found that working-class mothers tended to be more relaxed with their babies than their middle-class counterparts ²⁴⁷. Thompson found that working-class babies were often cuddled, and not normally disciplined before they could toddle, and many not weaned before the age of one or two years ²⁴⁸.

Indeed, such leniency was apparent before the late nineteenth century. Personal accounts indicated that "progressive" parenting existed amongst middle-class "officer" families by the 1880s. Joseph Ashby was slow to punish his children. On one occasion he even refused to allow his wife to punish one of the daughters for stealing, saying, "We will leave it alone when it is such a mystery" ²⁴⁹.

Even earlier, by the mid-nineteenth century, Connexional literature, despite its emphasis upon obedience to parents and an all-seeing God, was also reflecting a more sympathetic and child-centred approach. An article of 1850 warned parents to take a child's motives into account before punishing his actions: "how guardedly ought we to weigh every action against its motive lest...we be led to mete out to the venal errors of the heart the punishment only due to wilful crime" ²⁵⁰. This advice was still prevalent in 1917, as parents were enjoined not to punish mistakes or accidents ²⁵¹. Moreover, an article of 1895 acknowledged the awkwardness of adolescence by "lanky boys, who are not yet young men, or their clumsy girls, who, by no stretch of courtesy, can be called ladies, and yet can hardly be treated as children" ²⁵².

Perhaps most illustrative of this increasing leniency is the injunction of 1870: "Let children be judged as children" ²⁵³. However, this opinion was not unique to Methodism, being linked directly to

secular legislative developments of the mid-nineteenth century, by which time it was considered no longer appropriate to treat children as adults before the law. For instance, the passage of the 1847 Summary Jurisdiction Act allowed children under 14 to be tried summarily for petty larceny ²⁵⁴.

The nineteenth century was an era of vigorous investigation into the causes of crime. As a result of such activity, a variety of theories arose, some of which were shared by Connexional opinion. By mid-century many unofficial enquiries by statistical societies, such as the "moral statisticians", had revealed a connection between crime and insanitary conditions. The former was now viewed by social reformers such as Mary Carpenter as a "moral disease", "a subtle, unseen, but sure poison in the moral atmosphere of the neighbourhood, dangerous as is deadly miasma to the physical health" ²⁵⁵. This opinion can be linked with the Connexionally drawn parallel between physical and moral corruption, evil being depicted as a genetic defect: "Wickedness, vice, and folly run in some families and individuals as though it were constitutional, rather than moral" ²⁵⁶.

Other commentators, such as Edward Rushton, contrasted working-class child offenders with idealised, obedient middle-class children. Sometimes racial nomenclature was used to describe the former. For instance, they were "Hottentots" reared "without the constant care and judicious guidance of a vigilant mother" ²⁵⁷. Many thought that delinquency arose from "too early an exposure to the hardships and temptations of life" ²⁵⁸. But in some studies depravity and youthful exuberance were confused by "respectable" opinion ²⁵⁹. This tendency was identified in Connexional literature, as illustrated by an article of 1895, in which grown ups were urged not to curb the enthusiasm of these youths since, "they will meet storms enough in the natural course of

things, and do not need our artificial cold water arbitrarily thrown over them" ²⁶⁰.

Closely allied to the instilling of discipline was the expectation of children to carry out certain duties within the household, an aspect of family life particularly relevant to the daily lives of the daughters of the household. A nineteenth-century sermon of John Ashworth, making no differentiation in respect of social class, exhorted, "Those were the best mothers who would sit in the house, and make their daughters do the work" ²⁶¹.

Methodist personal accounts revealed daughters carrying out household chores, even in middle-class homes, exemplified within the "ministerial" families by the diary entry of 14 July 1886 of Helen McKenny: "Polished all the furniture in the study, which took me till 12" ²⁶². More onerously, in the "officer" division, the young Doris Simpson (future mother of William Farrar Vickers) cared for her delicate mother and six younger siblings ²⁶³. In the same category, the Ashby daughters were imbued with the notion it was their duty to care for the men of the house ²⁶⁴.

Such expectations of the daughterly role can be identified with that prevailing within the secular world. For instance, Lynn Jamieson contends that it was the girls who were the true candidates for the family-care apprenticeship. Though boys were expected to do certain chores, for instance shopping, helping with any allotment, fetching coal, washing windows or any male oriented tasks, girls' duties of cooking, washing, scrubbing floors and child-care tended to occupy more time than those allotted to their brothers, and tended to continue after they had begun full-time work ²⁶⁵. This training was carried out

under the guidance of her mother, and thus, according to Roberts, strengthened the mother-daughter bond ²⁶⁶.

However, this system was not universally welcomed either in the secular society, or within the Connexion. In the former, Molly Hughes, growing up in a middle-class home with three brothers in the 1870s, complained, "I came last in all the distribution of food at table, treats of sweets and so on. I was expected to wait on the boys, run messages, fetch things left upstairs, and never grumble, let alone refuse" ²⁶⁷. Similarly, rumblings of discontent were heard from the Methodist camp as, amongst the "rank-and-file", Hannah Mitchell bitterly recorded her mother's obsession with cleanliness, a characteristic which was representative of others of the working class in the secular world who laid great importance on outward appearance in the attainment of respectability ²⁶⁸. This attitude placed an onerous workload on the daughters of the family, a burden which dissolved rather than intensified any mother-daughter bond. Mrs Webster required the girls to sweep and scrub, turn the mangle on wash-days and churn butter. Hannah recalled, "She never seemed to realise how small and weak we were". In addition, her daughters were forced to darn stockings in the evenings while her sons and husband played cards ²⁶⁹.

On the other hand, apart from the examples of Doris Simpson and Hannah Mitchell, this imagery of severe oppression of young daughters did not figure prominently among Methodist accounts. There was evidence within the "ministerial" and "officer" categories of the working class of a more equal sharing of the burden of household chores between sons and daughters. For example, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century the future missionary Thomas Champness helped to mind his younger siblings ²⁷⁰. In the next century the young "officer" Cliff Willetts

was dispatched by his mother every Saturday morning to do chores for his grandmother ²⁷¹.

Nevertheless, for many females in society at large, up to and even beyond the end of the period covered by this research, the way in which the burden of duties within the home subordinated them to other members of the family had a profound, or even dire, effect upon the course of their lives. For instance, Chinn, though he detected some evidence of deference by grown up bachelor sons living at home towards dominant sisters, generally found that, in working-class homes, girls were expected to put the needs of family before self ²⁷². In fact, Joan Perkin detected a higher death rate among girls throughout the nineteenth century up to 1914, which was partly attributable to infections contracted nursing sick members of the family and accidents while minding younger siblings ²⁷³. As late as 1938, headmistresses expressed concern for girls from poor homes who suffered "breakdowns" which "may be attributed to the effects of travelling to and from school, lack of nourishment and domestic responsibilities" ²⁷⁴.

Indeed, the theme of self-sacrifice by young daughters persisted within Connexional literature well into the twentieth century, albeit in a less onerous guise. In an article of 1925, entitled "Living for Others", praise was bestowed upon a young girl living at home with a delicate mother and eight younger siblings. However, the services she performed for her family were confined to the relatively minor category of making tea, finding lost school books and binding cut fingers ²⁷⁵.

Inculcation of Morality - (iv) Care of the Elderly

Regarding adult offspring, though making no overt gender distinctions, Methodist Officialdom, throughout the period of this study, expected continuation of filial duty into adulthood, only to terminate with the parents' deaths. A sermon of 1850 plainly stated, "obligation never ceases so long as parents live". Furthermore it asked the reader to consider, "Have I borne their infirmities and endeavoured by every possible means to smooth the rugged path of old age down to the silent grave" ²⁷⁶. An article of 1873 adopted horticultural imagery - those who have trained children "wisely, diligently, and lovingly" would find in later life: "...their table is surrounded not by flaunting poppies, nor stinging nettles, nor noxious thistles, but by olive plants, bearing fruits, each year sweeter and more abundant" ²⁷⁷. This notion of duty towards the elderly was not confined to the Methodist press, as an article of 1877 in a Band of Hope publication warned of the dangers of ignoring such obligations: "filial ingratitude and disrespect is one of the greatest sins, and will certainly be severely punished, if not to-day nor tomorrow, certainly some time in the future, when the child has become a man" ²⁷⁸.

Personal Methodist accounts recorded, throughout the whole period of this research, instances of unmarried women, of both the working and middle class, remaining in the parental home to carry out this duty. Bullock (making no distinction between Methodists and non-Methodists in his working-class community) recalled how, in Bowers Row, into the first decades of the twentieth century, last words were faithfully recorded. Promises extracted by the dying were to be rigidly kept, and if they were not then misfortune would ensue, even when such promises required (as they frequently did) unmarried daughters to remain at home to look after the surviving parent ²⁷⁹. But dissuasion from marriage on

moral or religious grounds was not confined to the deathbed. Again, within the working class, an aunt of Beatrice Hawker was prevented from marrying by her (healthy) father, who objected to her fiancé, a churchgoer, but also an occasional drinker. "He loved his daughter and would break her heart rather than allow her to marry one who would not 'accept so great salvation' lest she should end in Hell itself" ²⁸⁰.

However, the majority of examples of unmarried adult females caring for elderly or infirm relatives were detected among subject families from the "ministerial" or the middle-class "officer" categories. For instance, the daughter of minister James Harrison Rigg, after caring for her ailing mother while still a child (recalling "my mother's frequent illnesses early made a little woman of me"), stayed on into adulthood to care for her father after her mother's death in 1889 ²⁸¹. Examples continued into the next century, as the prominent Wesleyan J Scott Lidgett, writing in the 1930s, related that his daughter "remains to care for me with ceaseless attention" ²⁸².

Moreover, it was not only daughters who stayed unmarried and at home to care for the elderly or infirm. Although minister's daughter Edith Macdonald began her career as a carer tending her parents until their death, in 1875 she departed from the parental home to supervise the household of her (supposedly) invalid sister, Louisa ²⁸³. In another "ministerial" family, an orphaned female cousin of E Benson Perkins, who was described by him as "one of us", was destined to look after Perkins' widowed mother while he and his sister lived elsewhere ²⁸⁴. In the twentieth century Mrs Kenrick, the widowed niece of the late wife of the Member of Parliament (and circuit/chapel office-holder), George Edwards, acted as companion in his private life and escort in his public duties. Edwards gratefully recorded that she had "entered into

my public life and has made my life brighter than it could otherwise have been and made the road to success easier" ²⁸⁵.

Methodist women who remained at home to care for the elderly and infirm had their counterparts in secular society. Gittins' Devon study revealed cases where youngest daughters were convinced by parents that they were too weak or infirm to marry ²⁸⁶. However, while some passively, or even willingly accepted their fate, heterogeneity in attitude was made apparent as others in this position resented their lot. Dyhouse found evidence in some middle-class autobiographies of a sense of confinement and captivity. Constance Louisa Maynard reported that she and her sister were "shut up like eagles in a henhouse, her mother responsible for "pat pat patting down of all ambition" ²⁸⁷. The vulnerability, frustrations and "social impotence" of those who were unlikely ever to escape from family bonds, those "daughters-at-home", "the 'Mollusc Maries' unable to work, marry, or even secure an entrée into any congenial society", was illustrated by Josephine Pitcairn Knowles' book, *The Upholstered Cage* (1913). This work pointed to the fate of the sheltered and untrained girl, who, unaware of her father's unsteady financial status, lived in "a fool's paradise" while he was alive, and on his death, unprepared to earn a living, was "...thrust down to a lower plane to compete with the workman's daughter coming up" ²⁸⁸.

Resentment towards this concept of the "daughter at home" also existed amongst middle-class Methodist families. However, when such feelings erupted they did not always emanate from the carers themselves. Basil Willey's paternal grandmother, the widow of a minister, kept her two daughters at home, a place condemned by Willey as "one of those Victorian backwaters where time had stopped; it was a stagnant pool, rank with the decaying past - in which category her two unmarried

daughters, my aunts Florrie and May, must, alas, be included"²⁸⁹. One of Roberts' middle-class Methodist subjects, herself from an "officer" family, recalled a cousin whose romance was broken by her "maniac religious father", as a result of which she never married, and led a miserable life. An aunt in the same family refused to emigrate to Australia with her fiancé, refusing to leave her widowed mother - "He went and her life was wasted". However, this subject cared for her own widowed father and siblings, when, at the age of 17, she happily left her job to take over the task from an older sister who was to be married. She, too, later married, so the situation may have been perceived as temporary, and thus not meriting resentment ²⁹⁰.

In fact, the role of the caring daughter-at-home appeared for other subjects to be a prelude, or even a catalyst, to leaving home and/or marriage. Again, Methodist accounts present a variety of stances, as some of these women showed considerably less enthusiasm for the role than Roberts' subject. For instance, in the 1860s, when sisters Louisa and Agnes Macdonald had entered the upper echelons of Wolverhampton society, their distraught sister, Alice, found herself confined to the home caring for her invalid minister father and distracted mother. Alarmed at the praise she received from her family for her efficiency in the role of household manager, and fearing this position would become permanent, Alice first of all found refuge in "delicacy", and then entered swiftly into an engagement and marriage to John Lockwood Kipling ²⁹¹. In 1900 "rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate, aged 16, was obliged for a time, against her wishes, to live with her grandparents in order to help in their small post office. After her return home she had thrust upon her the care of an ailing mother, a depressive father, a consumptive sister and an idle brother. During these years the care-worn and reluctant Ruth had to deal with many conflicting desires and duties - family obligations frustrating her wish to attend evening

classes, physical and mental exhaustion often preventing her from participating in those movements devoted to the social and political rights of women. However, despite (or, perhaps, even because of) her mother's increasingly irrational tirades against her for alleged selfishness, she had by the end of 1908 increased her political activities, and resisted her father's urgings to take time off from her job for the benefit of the family. As the conflicts and incompatibilities between expectations of family and self increased, Ruth finally decided to leave at the end of 1909. She eventually married in 1917 at the age of 33 ²⁹².

However, marriage could be conditional upon the continuation of care. Within the "officer" category, Ethel, youngest daughter of Emerson and Annie Bainbridge, was only allowed to marry Fetherstone Fenwick in 1889 on condition that the young couple shared a home with the bride's elderly parents and continued to care for them. Emerson and Annie even accompanied the newlyweds on their honeymoon ²⁹³.

Other Methodist carers of the elderly were also married, and Connexional writings emphasised the duty of wives to take on this role. An article of 1885, entitled *A Good Wife - God's Gift*, declared, "Kindness to old people, especially aged widows, always meets with its reward" ²⁹⁴. Further official promotion of this duty occurred via obituaries appearing in the Methodist press of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which fondly mentioned care received by the elderly living in the homes of younger married relatives (the majority of whom were daughters). For instance, Lucy Kendall lived with her daughter and granddaughter, both of whom ministered to her "with deep and tender devotion" ²⁹⁵.

Personal accounts of working-class Methodists reflect similar instances of married women caring for the elderly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the 1890s in the "ministerial" Brooks home, Betty, an elderly cousin of Mrs Brooks, and later, Jenny, an aunt, were taken in ²⁹⁶. When, in the 1900s (Sunday School superintendent) Sam, brother of Thomas Carter, married his wife they lived with her aged grandmother ²⁹⁷.

Elderly males were also taken into family homes, as illustrated by a Connexional obituary of 1920 which informed the reader that Mr Petch "was tended with loving care and devotion by his daughter, Mrs Trees"²⁹⁸. On a personal level, one of Roberts' "rank-and-file" Methodist subjects recalled her widowed mother taking in her paternal step-grandfather during the first decades of the twentieth century ²⁹⁹.

Such working-class examples of female-controlled systems of support find parallels with Chinn's study of working-class Birmingham for the period 1880-1939 in which he uncovered a "hidden matriarchy" ³⁰⁰ in the lower working class based upon kinship networks. Similarly, Standish Meacham found there was "...a matrilinear structure of family life that even death cannot impair" ³⁰¹. This female alliance often formed the basis for the stability of the extended family within the working class.

However, the provision of accommodation for the elderly was not the prerogative of female family members. A small minority of "ministerial" and "officer" personal accounts revealed instances, even in those families which had both male and female offspring, where sons undertook this duty (although, there was no evidence found of sons staying unmarried in order to care for relatives). Within the "ministerial" category, Thomas Champness found a home for his father after his

mother's death in 1873 ³⁰². Similar evidence was found among the "officers" in the working class. Agricultural worker Joseph Arch shared his home with his father. In fact, Arch gave up an opportunity to travel abroad as a servant to a gentleman because his father complained that "he was old and feeble, and that he had nobody but me in the world to care for him". Arch decided to stay and find a wife, and the marriage took place in 1847 ³⁰³.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth, and into the twentieth century the elderly poor might be destined to end their days in the workhouse. Perkin contends that the workhouses set up under the New Poor Law of 1834 "became effectively barracks for the infirm and closets for the dying". The *Lancet* of 1865 exposed conditions in London workhouses, revealing over 85 percent of inmates as "infirm", nearly all of whom were "permanents" leading a "vegetable" existence. Geoffrey Drages' book, *The Problem of the Aged Poor*, of 1892 revealed that the majority of paupers were widows who had little opportunity to save for old age ³⁰⁴. Age related statistics published at the end of the century revealed that the category of non-able-bodied paupers consisted overwhelmingly of those who were aged 65 and above. Although the proportion of the older population in institutions was small, it did increase in the second half of the nineteenth century - from 25,100 in 1851 to 76,100 in 1901, an increase of three to five percent of the total population of England aged 65 and above ³⁰⁵.

Flora Thompson's *Lark Rise to Candleford* revealed the lives of several elderly villagers of the 1880s and 1890s, whose fate appeared to be dictated by their material circumstances. Those who enjoyed comfortable circumstances kept their homes. Others less fortunate were either forced into the workhouse or squeezed into the overcrowded homes of their children : "It was a common thing to hear ageing people say that

they hoped God would be pleased to take them before they got past work and became a trouble to anybody" ³⁰⁶. Similarly, E N Bennett's commentary on rural life, written around 1910, related the loneliness and poverty of many of the elderly prior to the introduction of the old age pension. Bennett praised this benefit as "a veritable blessing to poor toilers of the village", which enabled many "to find a place at the fireside of their children, who otherwise could not have borne the additional expence, but are glad to receive their parents under changed conditions" ³⁰⁷.

Connexional support for this secular reform was indicated by a story in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* in 1910, which told of an elderly impoverished woman facing the prospect of entering the workhouse. Although she had a son, he himself lived in poverty with an ailing wife and eight children, and so was unable to offer his mother a home. The advent of the pension came just in time to save her from this grim fate by giving her the financial independence needed to stay in her home ³⁰⁸. Personal accounts also suggested official Methodist sanction of this benefit. Cliff Willetts related the tale of the poor couple, who on picking up their pension for the first time, fell upon their knees in the post office, declaring, "This is the new heaven and new earth we have heard about at the chapel" ³⁰⁹. This exclamation may simply have been a manifestation of the couple's own interpretation of a quotation from the Book of Revelation ³¹⁰. On the other hand, it may have been an indication that individual chapels were instrumental in spreading the word about entitlement of the new benefit.

However, even those elderly who lived alone may well have received support from an extended family ³¹¹. In her sample Roberts found few elderly parents living with their married children (possibly through scarcity of elderly people, or their wish to retain their

independence)³¹². But, she found that proximity was important ³¹³, the significance of which was reinforced by the research of Sykes, who found that family bonds within the Gornals in the Black Country were strengthened by physical propinquity - grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins often living within the same street, group of streets or village ³¹⁴.

Methodist personal accounts provide a link with such findings, although the evidence was found among middle-class subjects. Thomas Wright and his wife lived in the same street as his parents, thus facilitating the care of the Thomas' widowed father by Ethel during his final illness ³¹⁵.

Although Methodist families presented substantial evidence of their provision of care for the elderly throughout the period of this thesis, such behaviour was not universal throughout the Connexion. As in the secular society, some were either unwilling or unable to accept this responsibility. By the 1930s Connexional fears about the plight of some of the older generation were sufficient for the Reverend Walter Hall, minister in Tottenham and a District Chairman, to call a meeting in 1937 to discuss his concerns. Many of the elderly within the Connexion were unable to look after themselves. Some of them had no families, but others did have families unwilling or unable to provide care. Hall's actions resulted in the foundation of the Methodist Homes for the Aged ³¹⁶.

Conclusion

The adoption by Methodists amongst all categories of the various attitudes and customs regarding pregnancy and the bearing of children

prevailing in their surrounding communities illustrated the influence of wider societal values upon Methodist family life, and also affirmed the diversity of experience which existed within the movement's membership. Although social class was a major determinant in many of the customs adopted, evidence suggested that Methodists of all social classes tended to assume "respectable" attitudes regarding the discussion of pregnancy and childbirth.

Similarly, there was a general endorsement by Methodist families of all categories and social classes of Connexional and "respectable" opinions concerning obedience in children. However, throughout the period under investigation, regarding modes of discipline, demonstration (or otherwise) of affection, and the degree of kinship between those undertaking parental duties and their charges, the evidence points to a heterogeneity of Methodist family practice across the social spectrum which echoed that of the wider world. Although examples were relatively few, Methodists who failed to live up to Connexional standards of child care were found amongst all categories and social classes.

Throughout the period researched traditional societal influences were manifested in subject families amongst all categories and social classes in their delegation of the prime burden of care for the elderly and infirm to the females of the family. However, the rejection of the role of "female carer" by certain middle-class subjects within all categories, a trait echoing the dissent found amongst biographies of the middle class in society at large, demonstrated the heterogeneity of Methodist practice in regard to this aspect of family life.

Secular influence amongst Methodist families was apparent in the divergence between Connexional and personal attitudes in respect of

family limitation, as, throughout the years covered by this study, Methodists within all categories, from amongst the middle class and the "aspiring" element of the working class, contrary to official exhortations, supported the growing secular trend towards having fewer offspring. Moreover, even those examples of large families were likely to have been the result of societal rather than religious influences.

However, evidence also suggested that, into the twentieth century, religious values continued to exert a strong influence on behaviour within the home, particularly amongst "ministerial" and "officer" subjects within both the middle and working classes. Such Methodists appeared to adhere to the wider Evangelical ethos which presented the home and family as the foundation upon which religious faith might be built. However, their offering of newborns as workers in God's service, their exemplars of parental models of practical Christianity, their continuation of family prayers after the ritual had ceased to be fashionable in "respectable" society, and their spiritual observance of the Sabbath (a prominent trait within all categories) should not be taken as evidence of a homogeneous mode of living which differentiated such Methodist families from the rest of society. The failure of some offspring to follow in the footsteps of pious parents, the widespread practice of family prayer within other denominations, and the secular motivations associated with Sabbath Observance serve to undermine any such claim.

The infiltration of "respectable" attitudes into official Methodist thought was demonstrated in Connexional endorsement of firm discipline for the young, and support for the authoritarian regime of the Victorian Paterfamilias. Even the tolerant plea by the Connexion for the young to be judged as children reflected the spirit of nineteenth century legislative reforms concerning the treatment of young

offenders. However, although both Connexional and bourgeois opinion was strong in its criticism of parental incompetence and indifference, the failure of the former, unlike the latter, to focus disapproval upon the working class suggests an appreciation (not apparent within "respectable" promulgations) that misconduct could occur throughout the social spectrum, a stance justified by those examples of parental neglect and cruelty found amongst middle-class Methodists.

Connexional pragmatism was highlighted by the changing attitude towards recruitment during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. This shift, which saw the Sunday School as the principal nursery for future adult members, was partly motivated by official fears that insufficient spiritual training was being provided for children within the home, a trend suggesting a decreasing religious commitment and a corresponding increase in secularisation within Methodist families. Even more pragmatically, it reflected Officialdom's recognition that Sunday Schools were crucial to Connexional membership as recruitment became more endogenous at a time when the proportional strength of the movement was declining in relation to the total national population. Although there was no evidence to suggest that Methodist Officialdom had softened its attitude toward family responsibility in the care of the elderly, by the early decades of the twentieth century pragmatism is implied in its backing for financial state support for the elderly and the provision of residential homes.

Finally, there is some evidence relating to parenthood and childhood which supported the notion of a rural/urban divide. Although superstitions regarding childbirth were associated with the working class in both urban and rural areas alike, the available evidence suggested that their intensity and persistence (amongst Methodists and

non-Methodists alike) were greater in isolated settlements, such as Bowers Row.

This chapter has demonstrated how, throughout the period researched, the ways of the wider world intruded upon the Methodist parent-child relationship. Moreover, as Connexional offspring matured, left the confines of the home, and entered into society at large they were even more directly confronted with secular values. Methodist youth would soon discover that the wider world was a place where the tenets of Methodism could be challenged, and where lurked temptations against which they had to be prepared.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Best, *op. cit.* p.279. Also refer to previous chapter for discussion of the definition of "respectability".
- ² These figures, categorised under the vague headings of "puerperal fever" and "accidents", understate the tragedy, since it was in the interests of doctors and midwives to keep them as low as possible. Deaths occurring more than 10 days after delivery were recorded as causes independent of childbirth. "Puerperal fever" covered different forms of infection, and "accidents", ranged from ectopic pregnancy to "exhaustion". For further details of childbirth death see : Smith, *op. cit.* pp.13-63.
Maternal death rates actually rose between 1921 and 1936.
Roberts, *Place*, p.105.
- ³ Ross, *Love*, p.115; Smith, *op. cit.* p.13.
See also Appendix IV.
- ⁴ Smith, *op. cit.* p.65.
See also Appendix V.
- ⁵ Beatrice Hawker, *Look Back in Love* (1958), p.2.
Also, the grandmother of a Methodist subject employed by Roberts gave birth to 18 children, but only nine survived.
Mrs M3P in the Transcripts of Elizabeth Roberts (hereafter "Transcripts"), kept at Lancaster University, p.2.
Although Mrs M3P, like the others engaged in Roberts' study, may have been born into the working class, her father rose to be Head Inspector on the docks. Consequently, this subject, herself, is considered middle-class for the purposes of this research. Her grandmother's social standing is, however, more problematical - her (possibly, middle-class) cattle-dealer husband dying prematurely in a accident, forcing the impoverished widow to take up nursing.
- ⁶ D P Hughes, *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes* (1904), p.11;
- ⁷ Entry for 15 May 1922 in Wright, *op. cit.*
In the nineteenth century the brother of Leslie S Peake (the son of a minister) also died in childhood.
L S Peake, *Arthur Samuel Peake : A Memoir* (1930) (hereafter *Peake*), p.30;
- ⁸ The wealthier in society were not excluded from this tragedy. See below for discussion of maternal mortality.
Although Appendix VI indicates a higher infant mortality within working-class areas of London, nevertheless, it shows that all sections of the city suffered this misfortune.
- ⁹ Branca, *op. cit.* p.76.
- ¹⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser III (1865), p.92.
- ¹¹ In 1835 attendance at a course on midwifery was made necessary in order to obtain the qualification of the Royal College of Surgeons and Society of Apothecaries. By the end of the nineteenth century several institutions required a minimum amount of confinements to be attended before qualifications could be obtained, for example, the universities of Cambridge, London, and Durham all required 20.
However, some of the medical profession resisted new practices. For instance, examination by vaginal speculum, and even use of the stethoscope on the stomach of pregnant women to detect the foetus' heartbeat were considered indecent by some. Also, many cases of puerperal fever may have been caused by the lack of attention given to hygiene by some doctors
Branca, *op. cit.* pp.77-8, 86.
- ¹² The Gibbs family were in partnership with the Morels of Cardiff in a successful shipping business. These families were interlinked by marriage also.

J M Gibbs, *The Morels of Cardiff : The History of a Family Firm* (Cardiff, 1982), pp.35-8.

In his research Smith found that the use of dirty instruments by fashionable physician-accoucheurs (in 1897 the retiring president of the Gynaecological Association lamented that antiseptics "was still little used in private midwifery practice"), could contribute to infection and mortality amongst women who could afford their services.

Smith, op. cit. pp.17-27.

¹³ In a letter to her physician Louisa complained of collapsing after consuming a bottle of champagne, along with sherry and beer - all of which had been recommended for her health. She went on to report that, on the following day, she resorted to consuming as much beaten egg in wine as she could manage, and was puzzled why she still felt unwell. In Taylor's opinion, the most attractive of the Macdonald sisters was Alice, "a curiously modern woman"

Taylor, op. cit. pp.109, xiv.

¹⁴ Baldwin, op. cit.

¹⁵ A midwife would charge between 2s 6d and 10s, the average fee being reported as 7s 6d. Doctors' fee varied from 10s to £2, an average, uncomplicated delivery costing £1 - affordable by many of the middle class.

Branca, op. cit. p.80.

¹⁶ Roberts, *Place*, p.107.

¹⁷ Tyrrell, op. cit. p.197.

¹⁸ Willetts, op. cit. I, p.9.

Also within the working class, Hannah Mitchell's grandmother, who lived to be over 90, devoted much of her long life to acting as local midwife during the second part of the nineteenth century.

Mitchell, ed. op. cit. pp.46-8.

¹⁹ Greta Barker, *Buckinghamshire Born* (Milton Keynes, 1980) (hereafter, *Bucks*), p.28.

In addition, in the West family (owners of a building business), Nan Fleck arrived about the eighth month of each of Mrs West's pregnancies, to "perform all that was necessary to start another 'little West' on the road to a long and healthy life".

Jack West, *Jack West Funeral Director* (Ilfracombe, Devon, 1988), p.11.

²⁰ Ross, *Love*, p.113.

²¹ Entries for 6 August 1916; 21 March 1918 in Wright, op. cit.

²² Wright, op. cit.

²³ Jean Stovin, ed. *Journals of a Methodist Farmer 1871-1875* (1982), p.75.

²⁴ Mitchell, ed. op. cit. p.99.

²⁵ Diana Gittins, "Married Life and Birth Control between the Wars", *Oral History : The Journal of Oral History Society*, 4 (1) (Fall 1975) (hereafter "Birth"), p.54.

²⁶ Roberts, *Place*, op. cit. p.104.

Euphemisms were often employed to describe pregnancy, exemplified by Queen Victoria's "shadow-side" of marriage.

Such attitudes were reflected in literature, witnessed by Dicken's *David Copperfield*, in which Dora's miscarriage was described as, "The bird fluttered for a moment on the threshold of its little prison, and unconscious of captivity, took wing".

J H Miller, "'Temple and Sewer' : Childbirth, Prudery and Victoria Regina" in Anthony S Wohl, ed. *The Victorian Family : Structure and Stresses* (1978), p.31; Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, chapter XLVII quoted in *ibid.* p.32.

²⁷ Jim Bullock, *Bowers Row : Recollections of a Mining Village* (East Ardsley, Wakefield, West Yorks, 1976), p.64.

²⁸ Also gifts of eggs, to ensure fertility and flowers to guard against evil spirits, were presented.
Ibid. p.66.

²⁹ Chinn, *op. cit.* p.144.

This custom was also prevalent amongst the Methodists of Bowers Row. In this way women passed out of impurity to enter into the much sentimentalised, glorified, and undefiled state of motherhood, thus reflecting Tertullian's view of the duality of woman "*templum aedificatum super cloacam*" - a temple built upon a sewer.

Bullock, *op. cit.* p.66; Miller, *op. cit.* p.35.

³⁰ "the Christian act of thanksgiving and the folk belief in warding off ill-luck were regarded as complementary aspects of a single ritual attached to the rite of passage".

Sykes, thesis, pp.180-1.

³¹ Lax, *op. cit.* p.20.

³² Entry for 6 September 1916 in Wright, *op. cit.*

³³ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.62-3.

For details concerning family size amongst miners, see footnote 50 below.

³⁴ *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), p.150.

³⁵ Thompson, *Respectable*, p.53.

³⁶ Gittins, "Birth", p.53.

³⁷ The aristocracy appears to have led the way in family reduction, as witnessed by the decline in the average number of their children per family from 5 to 4 between the first and last quarters of the nineteenth century, an event possibly linked with a decline in child mortality, plus class and property considerations causing later marriage in younger sons. Thompson points out that economic factors may have affected the fertility of the middle class, which apparently followed from the mid-nineteenth century. Shift of expenditure to other areas, such as comfort of the home, keeping of servants, and education of children may all have been contributing factors.

Thompson *Respectable*, p.58.

³⁸ Harriet Martineau, *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-4) in Ann Hobart, "Harriet Martineau's Political Economy of Everyday Life", *Victorian Studies*, 37 (1) (Autumn 1993), p.225.

³⁹ For instance, in 1904 Dr Rentoul called for a state board to protect doctors as they sterilized degenerates (which included idiots, children of prostitutes, tramps, criminals, and "sexual degenerates") by sealing the vas deferens or the fallopian tubes.

Smith, *op. cit.* p.121.

See also, Carol Smart, "Disruptive Bodies and Unruly Sex : The Regulation of Reproduction and Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century" in Carol Smart, ed. *Regulating Womanhood : Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality* (1992), p.19.

⁴⁰ Austin Holyoake, *Large or Small Families : On which Side Lies the Balance of Comfort?* (1870), p.5 quoted in Branca, *op. cit.* p.122.

⁴¹ Frances Swiney, *The Bar of Isis* (1907), p.18 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.169.

⁴² Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* p.40.

⁴³ Taylor, *op. cit.* p.8.

⁴⁴ Entry for 14 Nov. 1886 in McKenny, *op. cit.* p.45.

Ross' London study found a much higher fertility rate for the working-class areas than those belonging to the middle class for this period. For instance, the number of births per 1000 married women of reproductive age for 1880-1 in Bermondsey was 306, compared to a figure for Hampstead of 261.

Ross, Love, p.95.

See also Appendix VI for details of infant mortality in London for the period 1901-3. This issue is discussed further in Chapter Five.

⁴⁵ *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VI (1880), p.38.

Though it is not clear if the masculine emphasis in this quote was intended, it is interesting to speculate if girls were viewed in the same light as their brothers, namely, as sound economic investments.

⁴⁶ Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* p.102.

⁴⁷ For the interwar period, Roberts detected an increasing correlation between family limitation and material circumstances among the poorer labouring families.

Gittins' interwar investigation of 18 Essex families revealed a correlation between family size, attitude of mother, and her occupation before marriage. Those who had been employed outside the home prior to marriage were found to have a greater pre-nuptial knowledge of sexual matters (mostly gleaned from older married work mates), and had a smaller number of children - average of 1.8 as opposed to 4.25 for those who had not worked outside the home.

Although there is no evidence of Hannah Mitchell gleaning such information before marriage, nevertheless, she both worked and lived away from home from the age of 14, and may have had an opportunity of gaining such knowledge.

Roberts, *Place*, pp.89-91; Gittins, "Birth", pp.55-7.

⁴⁸ Gittins recorded an interviewee with nine children. She was the wife of a fisherman whose standard of living was low, even when her husband was in work. She commented "oh we managed somehow, we struggled along", indicating a lack of aspiration, events being beyond her control.

Similar fatalism was exhibited by some of Roberts' sample, witnessed by comments such as "They [children] just came and that was it", "Whatever was to be, was to be, it was God's will or fate"

Gittins, "Birth", p.60; Roberts, *Place*, p.88.

⁴⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ The Fertility Census of 1911 indicated that the completed fertility for families of engineers was 321 per 100 wives, whereas more traditional professions retained a higher value - for instance, Anglican clergy, 391.

Similarly, the fertility rate of the working class presents a complex picture. By the end of the Victorian period many rail workers and textile workers were having smaller families (in 1911, the latter having an average of 3.19 children). But those still having large families included, not only many in heavy manual labour, such as miners (the highest in the working class in 1911 with an average of 4.33 children) and agricultural labourers, but also skilled workers such as gamekeepers, boilermakers and masons. Thompson believes that the most crucial factor in family limitation was the timing of exposure to industrialisation (a thesis akin to that of modernization put forward by Branca). Machine technology, large scale organisation, and factory methods came early to textile mills, and railways, but were least relevant to building, agriculture and mine work.

1911 Census figures are taken from John W Innes, *Class Fertility Trends in England and Wales 1876-1934* (Princeton, 1938), which used data from "Report on the Fertility of Marriage", *Census of England and Wales, 1911* quoted in Branca, *op. cit.* p.120; Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.70-8.

Insufficient data were available concerning number of children born to subjects' families, consequently, there was no attempt to carry out any analysis in this area for the purpose of this thesis.

⁵¹ Rev J Colwell, "Practical Papers : Child Training", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XI (1874), p.26.

⁵² Branca, *op. cit.* p.74; Thom, *op. cit.* pp.164,174.

⁵³ Davidoff, *Best*, p.54.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Respectable*, p.118.

However, Theresa McBride estimates that only one in ten nurse nannies fit the stereotype of the matronly trained family nurse who cared for children throughout their childhood. Most nurse maids were young and unskilled, being paid on average less than a housemaid. Their job was merely to clean up after children as part of their other duties, the mother providing emotional care. In 1851 in England and Wales 46 percent of nursemaids were under the age of 20, 74 percent under 30. In 1871 51 percent was under 20, and 23 percent under 14.

Census of England and Wales, 1871 (PP 1873,LXXXI, pt.I,cxli) in Theresa McBride, "'As the Twig is Bent' : The Victorian Nanny" in Wohl, ed. op. cit. p.49; C Collet, *Money Wages of In-Door Domestic Servants* (PP 1899,XCII) in McBride, op. cit. p.50.

⁵⁵ Many publications capitalised upon anxieties, which were exacerbated by the general lack of interest displayed in infant ailments by the medical profession. Most authorities on health care blamed mothers' mismanagement for the high infant mortality:

"On our [mothers'] shoulders lies the greater part of the blame - we fill the churchyards, and send babies a short cut from the cradle to the grave - we kill them by our bad management".

"How to Manage a Baby", in *The British Mothers' Journal*, June 1858, p.141 quoted in Branca, op. cit. p.99.

⁵⁶ Colwell, op. cit. p.27.

⁵⁷ John Burgess, "The Gleaves of St Helens : A Methodist Family", *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Branch of the Wesleyan Historical Society*, III (August 1976), p.68.

This attitude may, possibly, be viewed as a manifestation of the resentment towards maternity portrayed by the "New Woman" novels of the 1890s, which had begun to take a stand against the maternal instinct:

"Throughout history...children had been the unfailing means of bringing women into line with tradition...Women might harbour dreams and plan insurrection; but their children - little ambassadors of the established and expected....Their helplessness was more powerful to suppress revolt than regiments of armed soldiers".

Mona Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894), p.187 quoted in A R Cunningham, "The New Woman Fiction of the 1890s", *Victorian Studies*, XVIII (2) (December 1973), p.183.

⁵⁸ Colwell, op. cit. p.27.

⁵⁹ Jane Lewis, "The Working-Class Wife and Mother and State Intervention, 1870-1914" in Lewis, ed. op. cit. p.101.

⁶⁰ For instance, the 1878-83 British Association anthropometrical survey indicated that, at the age of 11-12 years, boys at English public schools stood on average five inches taller than those at English industrial schools. A 1914 survey of Birmingham board school children showed that 4,500 out of 32,000 had defective vision.

In her research, Janet Blackman found that the 1909-10 report by Birmingham Dental Hospital showed that 98 percent of the 5,572 children examined needed dental treatment.

Smith, op. cit. pp.175,182; Janet Blackman, "Child Health and Diet in the Nineteenth Century", *Bulletin of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 13 (1974), pp.12-3.

⁶¹ This practice, according to Ross, most commonly occurred at weekends, indicating a likelihood of alcohol being in the bodies of the parents. However, Chinn's examination of 27 cases of "overlaying" in Birmingham in 1920 revealed that in all but two cases the families involved were said to be sober and respectable

Ellen Ross, "Labour and Love : Rediscovering London's Working-Class Mothers, 1870-1914" (hereafter "Labour") in Lewis, ed. op. cit. p.82; Chinn, op. cit. p.150.

⁶² For instance, the giving of adulterated milk in unclean bottles, or a diet of sopped heavy bread and sugar.

However, improvement in artificial feeding with the introduction of patent dried milk foods, and new developments in feeding bottles made this practice increasingly popular with the middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century. But, even in middle-class homes, bacteria could thrive in badly washed vessels. Moreover, in an attempt to avoid malnutrition, overfeeding could take place, which itself could lead to illness and death.

Branca, *op. cit.* pp.103-5.

For further discussion see Smith, *op. cit.* pp.85-104.

⁶³ This practice spread among all social classes with the importation of Eastern Mediterranean opium. Between 1873 and 1876 convulsions accounted for 16.3 per cent of deaths in children under one year, many of which were due to drug overdose.

Smith, *op. cit.* p.95; Branca, *op. cit.* p.107

⁶⁴ In addition, some infants of unmarried mothers or working mothers were "farmed out", often to unscrupulous "carers", who either let the children die by neglect or through usage of opiates, or even killed them, sometimes in order to collect insurance. For example, during the 1870s Mary Ann Cotton of Durham was said to have poisoned 20 (mostly children) to collect insurance.

Smith, *op. cit.* p.79.

⁶⁵ Dyhouse reports that Clara Collet's examination of 1891 census figures and infant mortality figures for 27 large towns revealed only a slight correspondence between infant mortality and percentage of females occupied.

In her comparison of infant mortality between textile and non-textile towns for 1901-10, Roberts found an average of 141 deaths per 1000 live births for textile towns, compared to an average of 138 for non-textile towns, the figures for 1926-30 were 84 and 85 respectively. But there was great variation within each category. For instance, the 1901-10 figure for Rochdale (textile) was 133, compared to Wigan's 166 (non-textile). Roberts asserts that it would be more sensible to attribute higher rates to poor economic conditions - overcrowding and unsanitary conditions - rather than work outside the home.

Carol Dyhouse, "Working Mothers and Infant Mortality in England, 1895-1914", *Journal of Social History* 2nd ser XII (1978) (hereafter "Work"), p.253; Roberts, *Place*, pp.167-8.

⁶⁶ Lewis, *op. cit.* p.79; Thom, *op. cit.* pp.173-6.

Any resentment felt by working-class wives at the intrusion of middle-class social workers appears to have gone unnoticed by the latter, illustrated by Charles Bosanquet's comment, "the London poor are accustomed to the notion of being visited and are more inclined to complain of being neglected than to look on the visitor as an intruder".

But this viewpoint is not sustained by Rebecca West's description of a health visitor as "an inadequate and slightly offensive substitute to the poor woman for the skilled service the rich can command". Lewis found that many working-class mothers preferred to attend infant welfare centres (of which there were six in 1914, 120 in 1918, and 1,417 by 1933), where they were free to listen or leave.

By the end of the century many towns, such as Birmingham, employed professional health visitors whose duties included enquiring into infant deaths, and suspected cases of child cruelty, and teaching childcare and basic household cleaning skills. In 1919 the city employed 78 such workers who also gave talks and health lectures at mothers' meetings. By this time there was a general recognition that most slum-dwellers, given the chance of improved living conditions, would be decent and clean.

Charles Bosanquet, *A Handy Book for Visitors of the Poor in London* (1894) quoted in Lewis *op. cit.* p.101; Rebecca West, *The Young Rebecca : Writings of Rebecca West, 1911-1917* (1983), p.200 quoted in Lewis *op. cit.* p.111; Thom, *op. cit.* p.176; Lewis *op. cit.* p.111; Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.122-4.

⁶⁷ "A Wise Mother", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, I (1857), p.165.

⁶⁸ Thompson, *Edwardians*, pp.42-3; Ross, "Labour", p.84.

⁶⁹ Hughes, *op. cit.* p.11.

- ⁷⁰ In fact, between February 1918, one month before Kathleen's birth, and the following December the young Kenneth (who celebrated his second birthday in August of that year) spent no less than 11 weeks staying with grandparents at Crewe, away from his home and mother in Horwich. Moreover, during this year Wright's diaries often compared Kenneth unfavourably to his sister. Kenneth was "quite a handful", whereas Kathleen "is such a good and contented girl". Wright candidly admitted "She is pushing sonny's nose out". Entries for 21 April 1918; 5 May 1918; 11 May 1918 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ⁷¹ R G Burnett, *Through the Mill : The Life of Joseph Rank* (1945) (hereafter Rank), pp.12-3.
- ⁷² Hughes, *op. cit.* p.36.
- ⁷³ J B Brooks, *Lancashire Bred : An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1950-1), I, pp.148-9.
- ⁷⁴ Little or no account has been found of relationships with stepfathers.
- ⁷⁵ McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.20.
- ⁷⁶ Burnett, Rank, p.16.
However, Rank's later success in business and active role in chapel life indicates a recovery from any early mental or spiritual damage. Also in the "officer" division, in Robert C Richardson's farming family, misery ensued after the unusual matrimonial alliance between Richardson's maternal grandfather and his father's eldest sister. Despite the pre-nuptial warning of the bride's father: "If she turned out anything like her mother he'd wish to God he'd never seen her", the wedding took place, resulting in the early departure from home of all five stepchildren. Richardson, *op. cit.* pp.6-7.
- ⁷⁷ For instance, in 1839, while James was away attending Kingswood school, his father (John senior) wrote to him, chiding him for not sending his mother a thank you letter for his new desk. In this letter John senior proceeded to tell his errant son of "the excellent letter" John junior had written to his stepmother. John Telford, *The Life of James Harrison Rigg, D D 1821-1909* (1909), p.18.
- ⁷⁸ Lax, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ⁷⁹ See footnote 311 below.
- ⁸⁰ Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes : Founder of a new Methodism, Conscience of a new Nonconformity* (Cardiff, 1999), p.12
- ⁸¹ Crane, *op. cit.* pp.20-2.
- ⁸² Gibbs, *op. cit.* p.73.
- ⁸³ H K Moulton, "A Methodist Family : Ministerial Succession and Intermarriage", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLIII (3) (December 1981), p.56.
- ⁸⁴ Kingsley Weatherhead, *Leslie Weatherhead : A Personal Portrait* (1975), p.54.
- ⁸⁵ Barker, *Bucks*, pp.29-31.
- ⁸⁶ Letter from Ruth to Eva 29 April 1905 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, pp.67-8. It is unclear if Hebe's family attended the chapel.
- ⁸⁷ Ross, *Love*, p.133.
Similarly, Roberts' study of the north-west and Chinn's research in Birmingham found child care being undertaken by members of an extended family or neighbourhood during this period with little evidence of reciprocity Roberts, *Place*, chapter 5; Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.30-8.

- ⁸⁸ Jane Cassidy, "My Son", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. III (1891), pp.669-70.
- ⁸⁹ John Rylands Library (hereafter JRL), Rev. Richard Brown, "The Duty of Parents : A Sermon Preached in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Kings Street, Derby on Sunday September 8th 1872", MAW Pa 1872.7 (hereafter "Parents"), pp.5,15.
- ⁹⁰ JRL, Rev. John Brown, "The Christian and His Family: Respectfully Addressed to Parents, Especially those of the Wesleyan Society" (1849) (hereafter "Christian"), p.16.
Separate spheres of responsibility were emphasised in an article of 1850 : "while fathers are pressed with a thousand cares in the shop, the field and the market, mothers can ply their skill, morn, noon and night".
Primitive Methodist Magazine, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.230.
See Chapter Four for a further and more detailed discussion of separate spheres.
- ⁹¹ J H Plumb, *In the Light of History* (1970) p.239.
See Chapter Four for further discussion of separate spheres.
- ⁹² Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.37.
- ⁹³ David Roberts, "The Paterfamilias of the Victorian Governing Classes" (hereafter "Paterfamilias") in Wohl, ed. op. cit. pp.59-66.
Vigne, concurring with this opinion, also sees equal parental remoteness occurring at the other end of the social spectrum, where children were left to run the streets, and often were obliged to seek refuge in homes of older siblings if parents were imprisoned for drunkenness.
Thea Vigne, "Parents and Children 1890-1918 : Distance and Dependence", *Oral History* 4 (1) (Fall 1975) p.11.
- ⁹⁴ George Jackson, *Collier of Manchester : A Friend's Tribute* (1923), p.4.
Similarly, Henry Hartley Fowler (the son of a minister) dominated his household, "His unspoken word was law to children and servants alike, by right of sheer force of character". In addition, Leslie Weatherhead did not enjoy a close relationship with his father, but "in his own stiff and formal way he showed he cared for him", illustrated by the help he gave to Leslie in converting the attic for the latter to use for photography.
E H Fowler, *The Life of Henry Hartley Fowler First Lord Wolverhampton GCSI* (1919, 1924 edition) (hereafter *Life*), p.608; Weatherhead, op. cit. p.17.
- ⁹⁵ A & J Airey, *The Bainbridges of Newcastle : A Family History 1679-1976* (Newcastle on Tyne, 1979) p.89.
- ⁹⁶ Lax, op. cit. p.24.
- ⁹⁷ Bullock, op. cit. p.3.
- ⁹⁸ Taylor, op. cit. pp.9-12.
- ⁹⁹ Macdonald, op. cit. pp.6-8.
See Chapter One for discussion of Nadel's terminology.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.34.
When Harold was at home this power manifested itself in lectures delivered to his sisters on religion and good behaviour, insistence on an early bedtime for them, and even in the inspection of their hands before meals. When he was away at school he sent the girls "improving letters"
Taylor, op. cit. p.22.
- ¹⁰¹ Brown, "Parents", op. cit. p.10.
- ¹⁰² Roberts, "Paterfamilias", p.68.
- ¹⁰³ Burnett, Rank, p.57.
- ¹⁰⁴ J T Wilkinson, *Arthur Samuel Peake : A Biography* (1971) (hereafter *Peake*), p.180.

Again within the "ministerial" category, paternal devotion (by the standards of the time) to his first daughter was touchingly demonstrated by the leading Wesleyan, Hugh Price Hughes, who "never failed to rush to the window to watch the infant down the street as it was carried out for its daily airing". Hughes, *op. cit.* p.104.

¹⁰⁵ Ashby, *op. cit.* pp.167,198.

¹⁰⁶ Brooks, *op. cit.* I, pp.15-6.

¹⁰⁷ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.183.

¹⁰⁸ Entry for 5 Aug 1917.

He read books on childcare throughout the early years of all of his children, for example, W B Drummond, *The Child and its Nature*.

At Kenneth's first Christmastime two dozen photographs of the beloved offspring were distributed amongst (appreciative?) family and friends.

Entries for 5 March 1918; 26 Dec 1916 in Wright, *op. cit.*

Although the regularity of Kenneth's progress reports decreased over time, and Wright's attention was diverted to new arrivals during the first few months of their lives, nevertheless, he evinced a deep affection for all of his children, including them in his activities whenever possible. A regular favourite activity was walking with them on Sunday afternoons.

¹⁰⁹ West, *op. cit.* pp.11-2.

¹¹⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.545.

¹¹¹ Bradley, *op. cit.* p.179.

¹¹² For example:

"The Bainbridges of Stokesley", "The Goves of Long Eaton", "The Pickerings of Winlaton", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1917), pp.22-5,320-3,398-401.

¹¹³ Ashby, *op. cit.* p.170.

¹¹⁴ Fowler, *Life*, p.526.

¹¹⁵ *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IX (1865), p.52.

¹¹⁶ "Unconscious Tuition", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, I (1857), pp.187-8.

¹¹⁷ Wilson Barrett, "Children and the Church V", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XII (1890), p.563.

¹¹⁸ "A Week-End Gossip : On Being Anxious about 'The Coming Generation'" in the *Methodist Recorder*, 15 June 1922, p.13.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.9,22.

¹²⁰ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.17.

¹²³ "Poverty", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. II (1879), p.146.

These personal practical examples of Christianity within the Lunn and Hawker families may be considered a reflection of the policy of many chapels relating to the poor, and in the wider Forward Movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For many years, societies had followed the example of John Wesley in instituting agencies for social welfare. For instance, West Street Sunday-School, Stoke-on-Trent, began a Sick and Burial Fund in 1839 to provide parents with the means to bury their children with dignity. However, the last quarter of the century, according to R J Helmstadter, saw a shift in Nonconformists' thought as they began "to contemplate with sympathy the fate of the damned". Such concern, generated by compassion, by the Wesleyans' realisation of their limited appeal to the urban poor (shown in the 1851 Census), and also, possibly, by related fears of increasing secularisation in a disaffected labouring, inspired the creation of city missions. It is debatable to what extent to which these missions reclaimed the "unchurched masses", or met the needs of the poor. Criticism of middle-class domination and

the insufficiency of resources to supply the necessary social relief have been met with claims that they were constructive in inculcating self-respect and discipline amongst those in need - assertions substantiated by local evidence such as the success of the "Brotherhood" set up at Cross Street Chapel in Stoke-on-Trent in 1907.

For further details refer to:

Rack, *Reasonable*, p.392; Stafford Record Office (hereafter SRO), Papers of West Street Sunday School, D1183/1/6; R J Helmstadter, "The Nonconformist Conscience" in Gerald Parsons, ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain : Volume IV : Interpretations* (Manchester, 1989), pp.83-4; Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.132-41; Turner, "Methodism", pp.311-29; Bebbington, *op. cit.* p.212; Gerald Parsons, "From Dissenters to Free Churchmen : The Transition of Victorian Nonconformity" in Gerald Parsons, ed. *Religion in Great Britain Volume I : Traditions* (Manchester 1988), p.111; SRO, *Methodism at Cross Street Chapel, Stoke, 1799-1949* (1949), D3632/1/1.

¹²² Sir Henry Lunn, *Chapters from my Life : With Special Reference to Reunion* (1918), pp.13-4.

¹²³ Although the family was often short of money, her mother would offer hospitality to tramps, giving them food and clothes, and allowing them to stay in the family home while she and other Methodists tried to find them jobs or contact their relatives.
Hawker, *op. cit.* pp.21-2.

¹²⁴ On his death Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge left £1000 each to the Wesleyan Foreign Missions and the Wesleyan Worn Out and Aged Ministers' Fund.
Airey, *op. cit.* pp.90,106-8.

¹²⁵ Davidoff, *Best*, p.35. See also footnote 1 above.

¹²⁶ Brown, "Parents", p.1.

¹²⁷ Brown, "Christian", p.54.

¹²⁸ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XVI (1870), 1095-6.

¹²⁹ Airey, *op. cit.* pp.177-8.

¹³⁰ Lax, *op. cit.* pp.44,42.

¹³¹ J S Lidgett, *My Guided Life* (1936), pp.24-5.
Similarly, missionary and publisher, Thomas Champness, recalled "None of the great preachers I have heard since have made me feel as my father did, when he read the Bible to his children".
T D Meadley, *Kindled by a Spark : The Story of Thomas Champness* (Ilkeston, Derbyshire, 1983), p.10.

¹³² R B Thompson, *Peter Thompson*, (1910) (hereafter *Peter*), p.21.
Also, although the father of the Lunn household was a lay preacher, it was the mother of the family who initiated this ritual.
Lunn, *op. cit.* pp.13-4.

¹³³ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.20.

¹³⁴ Fowler, *Life*, p.7.

¹³⁵ F Pickett, "The Christian Family : II The Family Altar", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IV (1905), p.405.

¹³⁶ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.11.

¹³⁷ Wright, *op. cit.*

¹³⁸ "Our Superior Facilities of Sabbath-Sanctification", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.583.

- ¹³⁹ Rev. Jesse Ashworth, "Divinity : An Essay on the Christian Sabbath", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. III (1865), p.453.
- ¹⁴⁰ Rev. William Spiers, "The Sabbath Question", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. IX (1885), p.139.
- ¹⁴¹ "To Our Readers" series, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1925), p.296.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴³ Wigley, *op. cit.* p.183.
- ¹⁴⁴ G S Jones, "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1970-1900 : Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class", *Journal of Social History*, VII, 1974 (hereafter "Working"), p.471.
- ¹⁴⁵ Pamela Horn, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside*, (1976, 1995), pp.166-81.
- ¹⁴⁶ See Chapter One for further discussion of Bailey's theory concerning working-class respectability.
Bailey, *op. cit.* p.39.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, I (1857), p.309.
- ¹⁴⁸ Wigley *op. cit.* p.100.
- ¹⁴⁹ McLeod, *Religion*, pp.100-5.
- ¹⁵⁰ Tyrrell, *op. cit.* pp.220-1.
- ¹⁵¹ Mrs R1B in "Transcripts", pp.20-1.
- ¹⁵² Lax, *op. cit.* p.61.
In another working-class "ministerial" family, the mother of Joseph Barlow Brooks would borrow from neighbours on a Sunday rather than patronise available shops.
Brooks, *op. cit.* I, p.84.
- ¹⁵³ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.18.
- ¹⁵⁴ Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵⁵ Wesley Perrins, "Wesley Perrins Remembers", *Bulletin of the Wesley Historical Society (West Midlands Branch)*, III (3) (1978), p.90.
- ¹⁵⁶ K D Brown, *The British Toy Business : A History since 1700* (1996) (hereafter *Toy*), pp.55,61.
See Chapter Three for further discussion of developments in the toy industry.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hawker, *op. cit.* p.19; Margaret Rhodes, "My Derbyshire Grandmother", *This England* (Summer 1976), p.28; Thompson, *Edwardians*, *op. cit.* p.129.
- ¹⁵⁸ E B Bax, *Reminiscences and Reflexions of a Mid and Late Victorian* (1918, New York, 1967), p.13.
- ¹⁵⁹ Willey, *op. cit.* pp.44-5,47.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.602.
- ¹⁶¹ Perkins, *op. cit.* p.7.
- ¹⁶² As a child Raymont normally attended Sunday-School 9.30-10am, chapel 10.30-12.00pm, Sunday-School 2-4pm, chapel 6-7.30pm, prayer meeting 7.30-8pm.
Brunel University Library, Thomas Raymont, "Memories of an Octogenarian 1864-1949", (TS, held at Brunel University Library) p.6.

- ¹⁶³ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.20; Mrs R1B in "Transcripts", pp.20-1; Mrs D2B in "Transcripts", p.10; Ralph Whitlock, *A Family and a Village* (1969), p.7.
- ¹⁶⁴ Thompson, *Respectable*, p.140.
- ¹⁶⁵ T W Laqueur, "Sunday Schools and Social Control" in Bocock & Thompson, eds. *op. cit.* p.190.
- ¹⁶⁶ Thompson, *Respectable*, *op. cit.* p.141.
- ¹⁶⁷ "The Object of Sunday-Schools", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IV (1860), p.86.
- ¹⁶⁸ Brown, "Christian", p.9.
- ¹⁶⁹ "The Sunday-School, Its Proper Warrant and Work", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IX (1865), 98.
- ¹⁷⁰ Rev. J W Jones, "Practical Papers : A Model Sabbath-School", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), p.243.
However, the Sunday School was still perceived by some to be the realm of the poor, for the middle-class Mrs Gleaves did not send her children to Sunday School, as she considered it only suitable for the poor.
Burgess, *op. cit.* 69.
See Chapter Five for further discussion of the social status of Wesleyanism.
- ¹⁷¹ JRL, Rev Richard Green, "Fidelity : A Sermon Preached in Trinity Chapel, Grove St, Liverpool, on Sunday, December 10th, 1876 , in Memory of Mrs John Bowman and now dedicated to her Husband, as a Token of Sincere Sympathy with him and of his High Regard for Her" (Liverpool, 1876), MAW Pa 1876.10 EMA 3055, p.10.
- ¹⁷² "Rev. C W Barrett, "The Model Teacher", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.57.
- ¹⁷³ Rev. F R Hill, "Practical Papers : The One Object of Sunday-School Teaching", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. IX (1874), p.193.
- ¹⁷⁴ "Our Sunday-Schools", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. II (1878), p.384.
- ¹⁷⁵ Miss Harbord, "The Scholars : How to Interest and Instruct Them", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.381.
- ¹⁷⁶ "Discipline in Class", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IX (1865), p.195.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp.195-6.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.196.
- ¹⁷⁹ Frederick Howarth "The Senior Class", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. CXXIII (1900), p.241.
- ¹⁸⁰ Entry for 7 February 1909 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁸¹ "The Sunday-School, Its Proper Warrant and Work", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IX (1865), pp.100-1.
- ¹⁸² "Rev. C W Barrett, "The Model Teacher", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.59.
- ¹⁸³ "The Family Department : The Price of a Daughter's Soul", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.59.
- ¹⁸⁴ SRO, William Baxter, *The Centenary History of the Wesleyan Sunday-School, Stafford, 1805-1905* (Stafford, 1905), D5008/2/7/9/3.

- ¹⁸⁵ "Rev. Luther Lee, "First Ideas and Impressions", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.195.
- ¹⁸⁶ "Practical Papers : Hints to Sunday-School Teachers", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. IX (1874), pp.75-7; Rev. C W Barrett, "The Model Teacher", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.10.
- ¹⁸⁷ John Freeman, *Bilston Wesleyan Methodism* (Bilston, 1924), p.140.
- ¹⁸⁸ Rev. T Rowson, "Practical Papers : Recent Legislation : Its Bearing on Sunday-School Work", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), 27.
- ¹⁸⁹ Lacqueur, *op. cit.* p.190.
- ¹⁹⁰ Raymont, *op. cit.* pp.6-7.
- ¹⁹¹ These figures appear in:
(i) "Annual Report of the Wesleyan Education Committee 1889", pp.114-5 quoted in F C Pritchard, "Education" in *MethIII*, p.285.
(ii) The Conference Report in the *Methodist Recorder*, 24 July 1877, p.431.
- ¹⁹² "The Conference Address", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, XVI (1890), p.563.
- ¹⁹³ Rupert Davies, "Since 1932" (hereafter "1932") in *MethIII*, p.364.
Local examples also yield impressive figures. E Benson Perkins recorded the Leicester Sunday-School of his youth in the 1880s and 1890s as having 800 scholars. At the beginning of the twentieth century Zoar chapel in Gornal Wood boasted 550 on its register; the Sunday Schools in Rowley Street and Earl Street in Stafford had a combined roll of 540 in 1905; and during the year following its opening in 1910 the Tooting Mission had 1700 scholars registered in its Sunday School.
Perkins, *op. cit.* p.7; Sykes, thesis, p.316; Baxter, *op. cit.*; Burnett, Rank, p.153.
- ¹⁹⁴ "The Conference Address", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVI (1890), p.563.
See Chapter One for discussion of membership numbers in relation to population.
- ¹⁹⁵ Rev. Samuel Coley, "Practical Papers : The Lord's Lilies", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), p.152.
- ¹⁹⁶ Sykes, thesis, p.129.
- ¹⁹⁷ Rev. C H Gough, "Our Scholars", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. IX (1885), pp.53-4.
- ¹⁹⁸ Rev. John Hall, "Preaching to the Children", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. IX (1885), p.142.
- ¹⁹⁹ F Pickett, "The Christian Family III : The Family Pew", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IV (1905), p.477.
- ²⁰⁰ Hawker, *op. cit.* p.56.
- ²⁰¹ "The Conversion of Our Children : The Little Ones", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, I (1857), p.146.
- ²⁰² Rev. Luther Lee, "First Ideas and Impressions", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, XVI (1890), p.157.
- ²⁰³ Lunn, *op. cit.* pp.15-6.
- ²⁰⁴ Lax, *op. cit.* p.20.
Entry for 18 Aug 1916 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ²⁰⁵ Tyrrell, *op. cit.* p.220.

- ²⁰⁶ Entry for 31 Dec.1885 in McKenny, *op. cit.* p.13.
- ²⁰⁷ Entry in Ruth's diary for 1 March 1904 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.53.
- ²⁰⁸ Proverbs 22.6. For an example of its use see:
Rev. Benjamin Smith, "Tending the Olive-Plants", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873) (hereafter "Tending"), p.54.
- ²⁰⁹ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.545.
- ²¹⁰ Florence Weston, "Mothers' Corner", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLIII (1920), p.44.
- ²¹¹ "Parental Authority and Influences", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IX (1865), pp.49-50.
- ²¹² Smith, "Tending", p.54.
- ²¹³ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1925), p.72.
- ²¹⁴ John Ashworth, "Young Women, Wives and Mothers" in A L Calman, *Life and Labours of John Ashworth* (Manchester, 1875), p.318.
Ashworth's lectures are not dated, but Calman refers to them being delivered "in late years", presumably a period which covers those years immediately preceding publication of this volume - namely, the 1860s and early 1870s. However, these works may have been originally written earlier in the century.
- ²¹⁵ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VIII (1870), p.519.
- ²¹⁶ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLVIII (1925), p.120.
- ²¹⁷ James Walvin, *A Child's World : A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914* (1982), p.47.
- ²¹⁸ J S Mill, *Three Essays on Religion : Nature, Utility of Religion* (1874), p.46
quoted in P T Cominos, "Late-Victorian Respectability and the Social System", *International Review of Social History*, VIII (1976) (hereafter "Late"), p.219.
- ²¹⁹ Thompson, *Respectable*, p.129.
- ²²⁰ Brown, "Christian", p.10.
- ²²¹ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, (1917), p.55.
- ²²² Thompson, *Respectable*, p.129.
- ²²³ Vigne, *op. cit.* p.10.
- ²²⁴ Mr C1P in "Transcripts", p.53.
- ²²⁵ Mrs M3P in "Transcripts", p.33.
There was no direct reference made to the subject's age when these incidents took place. However, since she was considered to be sufficiently mature and financially capable to be allowed to go out at night, or go on excursions with friends (some of whom were courting or married), it is apparent that she was beyond school leaving age.
- ²²⁶ (i) Proverbs 22:15 found, for example, in "Memoirs of Mr and Mrs Howorth", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. VI (1860), p.214.
(ii) Proverbs 13:24 found, for example, in Rev W Dent, "An Address to Parents", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. III (1865), p.224.
- ²²⁷ Roberts, *Place*, p.12-3.
- ²²⁸ Mrs B2P in "Transcripts", p.14.
- ²²⁹ Hawker, *op. cit.* p.18.

- ²³⁰ Tyrrell, *op. cit.* pp.223-5.
- ²³¹ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.18.
- ²³² Roberts, *Place*, p.11.
- ²³³ E W Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement* (New York, 1971), p.149 quoted in S S Tamke, *Make a Joyful Noise Unto the Lord : Hymns as a Reflection of Victorian Social Attitudes* (Ohio,1980), pp.80-1.
- ²³⁴ Coley, *op. cit.* p.148.
- ²³⁵ Brown, "Christian", p.4.
- ²³⁶ J A Wallace, Hymn #266 in *The Methodist Sunday-School Hymn-Book* (1879) quoted in Tamke, *op. cit.* p.82.
- ²³⁷ A J Glasspool, "The Naughty Little Girl", *Onward : A Magazine for family Reading and Organ of the Band of Hope Movement*, XII (1877), p.56.
- ²³⁸ Bradley, *op. cit.* p.186.
- ²³⁹ Mrs Sherwood, *The Fairchild Family* (1818,1913 edition), p.95.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.57.
- ²⁴¹ "The Family Department : Usefulness of a Mother", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.413.
- ²⁴² Meadley, *op. cit.* p.12.
- ²⁴³ Entries in Ruth's diary 20 Aug 1900 and 15 March 1904 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, pp.31,53.
- ²⁴⁴ G B Blanchard, "Jesus the Friend of Little Children", stanza 2 in *The Church Mission Hymn Book with Mission Liturgies* (1913), p.114 quoted in Tamke, *op. cit.* p.87.
- ²⁴⁵ Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.47.
- ²⁴⁶ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London, 1892-1903*, I, p.160 quoted in *ibid.* p.46.
- ²⁴⁷ Roberts, *Place*, p.25.
- ²⁴⁸ Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.43.
- ²⁴⁹ Ashby, *op. cit.* p.167.
- ²⁵⁰ John Dodsworth, "The Family Department : Parental harshness Regretted", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.549.
- ²⁵¹ "Caring for Children", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, (1917), p.55.
- ²⁵² N Robinson, "An Uninteresting Age", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXVIII (1895), p.447.
- ²⁵³ "Treatment that Discourages Piety in Children", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. V (1870), p.268.
- ²⁵⁴ This power was extended to include those under 16 in 1850. Up until the mid-nineteenth century children aged seven to 14 were presumed innocent unless the prosecution proved their ability to "discern between good and evil", therefore fully responsible for their actions. But social reporting of these years began to view childhood as one of dependency, children ideally shielded from the outside world, with restricted and regulated activities, thus mirroring the current societal preoccupation of supreme importance of family and

home in the socialisation of children, and paralleling official Methodist ethos. The contemporary theory of associationist psychology asserted that children developed in response to external stimuli, and thus were contaminated by promiscuous association with adults in gaols, tainted by the "moral atmosphere" therein. There was also criticism of inconsistent sentencing by magistrates, perturbation at exposure of juveniles to the depravity of prison during lengthy pre-trial detention, and concern at the undermining of the law by the "mockery" of formal and expensive trials for children who did not appreciate the gravity of the occasion.

Post-1847 legislation included the Acts of 1854, which set up reformatory schools, and that of 1857, establishing Industrial Schools. These further acknowledged the essential differences between adult and child, and aimed to provide civilising elements missing from the miscreants environment, middle-class standards being imposed on working-class children

Margaret May, "Innocence and Experience : The Evolution of the concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *Victorian Studies*, XVII (1) (September 1973), pp.8-9, 13-4,26-9.

²⁵⁵ Mary Carpenter, "Juvenile Delinquency in its Relation to the Educational Movement" in A Hill, ed. *Essays upon Educational Subjects* (1857), p.321 quoted in *ibid.* p.18.

²⁵⁶ Obituary of Brother Thomas Fenwick, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIII (1875), p.48.

²⁵⁷ Edward Rushton, *Juvenile Delinquency* (1842), p.13 quoted in May, *op. cit.* p.19.

²⁵⁸ Rev Micaiah Hill & C F Cornwallis, *Two Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency* (1853), pp.58,59,60 quoted in May, *op. cit.* p.20.

²⁵⁹ In addition, age groups remained undefined, including children aged eight or nine up to 18 or 20, delinquency being associated with least child-like characteristics, "hideous antithesis, an infant in age, a man in shrewdness and vice... the face of a child with no childish goodness" .

S Robins, *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell on the necessity and mode of State Assistance in the Education of the People* (1851), p.51 quoted in May, *op. cit.* p.21.

²⁶⁰ Robinson, *op. cit.* p.448.

²⁶¹ Calman, *op. cit.* p.317.

²⁶² McKenny, *op. cit.* p.26.

²⁶³ W F Vickers, *Spin a Good Yarn : The Story of W Farrar Vickers* (1978), p.23.

²⁶⁴ Ashby, *op. cit.* p.247.

²⁶⁵ Lynn Jamieson, "Limited Resources and Limiting Conventions : Working-Class Mothers and Daughters in Urban Scotland c.1890-1918" in Lewis ed. *op. cit.* p.53. Even the sanitized view of family life presented in Brown's advertisements more often depicted girls doing household tasks than their brothers. Brown, *Images*, p.50.

²⁶⁶ Roberts, *Place*, p.25.

²⁶⁷ M V Hughes, *A London Child of the 1870's* (Oxford, 1977), p.7 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.17.

²⁶⁸ Hannah Mitchell's mother was so obsessed with cleanliness that she used left-over soap suds on washdays to scrub and wash the pigs.

Both Roberts and Chinn place donkey stoning of front doorsteps in the vanguard of the never ending battle against dirt. Chinn asserts, "The cleanliness of a family and its home was to be worn like a badge of honour; its dirtiness as a symbol of shame and particularly that of its wife".

Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* p.39; Roberts, *Place*, pp.5,15; Chinn, *op. cit.* p.129.

Therefore, perhaps, such cleanliness might be viewed in the light of Bailey's comments (see footnote 146 above) upon the multi-faceted nature of working-class respectability - in this case, possibly, manifesting itself as a defensive device - against the criticism, not so much by the middle-class observer, but by their peers in the surrounding community.

²⁶⁹ Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* pp.42-3.

²⁷⁰ E M Champness, *The Life Story of Thomas Champness* (1907), pp.19-20.

²⁷¹ Willetts, *op. cit.* III p.2.

²⁷² Chinn, *op. cit.* p.29.

²⁷³ Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (1993), p.9.

Sheila Ryan Johansson suggests that the extension of compulsory schooling in 1870, with the concomitant prolonged financial dependence of daughters on parents, may have further exacerbated the already inadequate care received by daughters in poor families, and thus been a contributory factor to the higher death rates experienced by them in their early teens over their brothers

In the period 1841-51 males of all ages had death rates that were nine percent higher than rates for females of all ages. By 1871-80 this male disadvantage had increased to 15 percent, and by 1901-10 to 19 percent. But the mortality advantage of girls aged between five and fourteen over males of the same age was lost between 1871-81 and 1901-10. In addition, she found a higher mortality rate among daughters of poorly paid agricultural workers living in parts of mid-nineteenth century rural Cornwall, where they would be unlikely to find paid employment, than their counterparts living in town.

Deficiency in the female diet was indicated by the study of Lambeth for the period 1909-13 undertaken by Mrs Pember Reeves, who found that meat was chiefly bought for the men of the family. Moreover, this discrimination apparently continued further into the century. Penny Tinker asserts the likelihood that working-class girls who stayed on at school past the age of 14 in the interwar period may have been considered a drain on the family resources.

There has been no firm evidence found within subject families of girls receiving less food than the males of the family. Indeed, there is some small indication of equality of distribution in working-class activist families.

Although equality was not specifically mentioned in the Bullock household, mention was made that the mother had the choicest cut off the joint, indicating that all may have had a share of the food available.

S R Johansson, "Sex and Death in Victorian England" in *Vicinus*, ed. *op. cit.* pp.167, 179: Supplement to the 25th Annual Report of the Registrar-General, p.lxxviii quoted in Johansson, *op. cit.* p.176; Maud Pember Reeves, *Round a Pound a Week* (1913, 1993 edition), p.7; Helen Forrester, *Twopence to Cross the Mersey* (Glasgow, 1981), pp.67-8 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.19; Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.5-6.

²⁷⁴ Board of Education (1938), quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.18.

²⁷⁵ Mrs Coulson Kernahan, "Living for Others", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLVIII (1925), p.418.

²⁷⁶ JRL, David Stoner, *Sermons from the 1850s* (n.d.), p.9.

²⁷⁷ Rev. Benjamin Smith, "Tending the Olive Plants", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), pp.48-9.

²⁷⁸ W Porter, "Honour Thy Father and Thy Mother", *Onward : A Magazine for Family Reading and Organ of the Band of Hope Movement*, III (1877), p.133.

²⁷⁹ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.69.

²⁸⁰ Hawker, *op. cit.* p.9.

²⁸¹ Telford, *op. cit.* pp.383-5.

²⁸² Lidgett, *op. cit.* p.270.

- ²⁸³ However, life was not confined to household drudgery, for Edith often took Louisa's place at the side of her brother-in-law, wealthy industrialist and Member of Parliament, Alfred Baldwin, accompanying him to local public functions in Wilden, near Bewdley. Here, Baldwin occupied the position of "lord of the manor", and Edith thoroughly enjoyed playing the role of his consort. Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.153-4.
- ²⁸⁴ Perkins, *op. cit.* p.2.
- ²⁸⁵ George Edwards, *From Crow-Scaring to Westminster : An Autobiography* (1922, 1957 edition), pp.234-5.
- ²⁸⁶ Gittins, "Marital", p.262.
- ²⁸⁷ C B Firth, *Constance Louisa Maynard, Mistress of Westfield College : A Family Portrait* (1949), pp.54,58 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.15.
- ²⁸⁸ J P Knowles, *The Upholstered Cage* (1913), p.163 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.32.
Over 40 years earlier an even more dire fate was revealed by Josephine Butler, "Thousands are actually starving : I do not mean of the lower classes, but of the middle classes. Thousands are driven to prostitution..."
Letter from Josephine Butler to Frederick Harrison, 7 May 1868, Josephine Butler Collection, Fawcett Library, London quoted in J N Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (1980), p.129.
- ²⁸⁹ Willey, *op. cit.* p.37.
- ²⁹⁰ Mrs R1B in "Transcripts", pp.1,7,22,26.
- ²⁹¹ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.57-9.
- ²⁹² For examples of her mother's tirades see entries in Ruth's diary for:
24 Oct 1904, 28 Jan 1905, 2 Feb 1909, 5 Dec 1909
Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, pp.55,61,131,147.
Ruth's activities concerning social and political reform included membership of the Women's Freedom League from 1908 and attendance at the Freewoman Circle in 1912.
Ibid. pp.6-12.
- ²⁹³ Airey, *op. cit.* pp.86-7.
- ²⁹⁴ John Vaughan, "A Good Wife - God's Gift", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1885), p.166.
- ²⁹⁵ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XII (1890), p.118.
See footnote 313 for a further example.
- ²⁹⁶ Brooks, *op. cit.* I, pp.163-5.
- ²⁹⁷ Thomas Carter, "Cobbler's Patches of Memory" (n.d.) (TS, held at Local History Library, Derbyshire County Library, Matlock), p.28.
- ²⁹⁸ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIX (1920), p.71.
- ²⁹⁹ Mrs P2B in "Transcripts", pp.3,5-6.
The family showed great charity and forbearance towards this elder, since he insisted on charging them for the vegetables he grew on his allotment, although he, himself, being the owner of four houses, had no apparent shortage of funds.
- ³⁰⁰ Chinn, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ³⁰¹ Standish Meacham, *A Life Apart : The English Working Class 1890-1914* (1977), p.60.
- ³⁰² Champness, *op. cit.* p.163.

³⁰³ The marriage was apparently motivated by the need for a housekeeper rather than affection: "There was nothing for it but to marry and settle down, for we could not go on as we had been doing. It had been a makeshift kind of life at the best".

Arch, *op. cit.* p.321.

Another agricultural worker, George Edwards, who, in the 1860s, while earning 15 shillings per week, provided a home for his mother within his own household, proudly recalled, "we looked after her for six years...without receiving a penny from any one".

Edwards, *op. cit.* p.23.

³⁰⁴ Perkin, *op. cit.* pp.149-50.

³⁰⁵ See Appendix VIII.

The numbers of older people receiving outdoor relief fell after the 1871 "crusade" by central authorities to exert control over local Poor Law practices. Claimants were carefully assessed, the aid of charities enlisted, and liable relatives pursued. However, the crusade was hampered by the uneven distribution of charity and family resources, and the complexity of causes of poverty. Consequently, though the fall in numbers may have been due in part to the "crusade", it also might have resulted from the increase in the standard of living of the working class, which enabled families to provide more help to needy elderly relatives.

Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History : Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), pp.172-3.

³⁰⁶ Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Oxford, 1939,1973 edition) (hereafter *Lark*)

³⁰⁷ E N Bennett, *Problems of Village Life* (c. 1910) (hereafter *Problems*), pp.144-5.

Introduced by a Liberal Government, non contributory pensions of 5s per week were paid (on a sliding scale, smaller amounts being paid to those with a weekly income of 8s to 12s) immediately to those aged 70 and over. Payment took place at the Post Office, thus eliminating the stigma associated with Poor Relief. Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the Welfare State* (1973, 2nd edition 1984), p.153.

³⁰⁸ S Horton, "An Old Age Pensioner", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IX (1910), pp.388-91.

The story held much praise for Lloyd-George, and no criticism of the son. However, it is interesting to speculate whether or nor the Connexion would have displayed a similar attitude if the old lady's offspring had been a daughter.

³⁰⁹ Willetts, *op. cit.* II p.18.

³¹⁰ The words of the couple derive from Revelation 21:1 - "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea".

³¹¹ Refer to Chapter One (particularly footnote 143) for commentary by Elizabeth Roberts, Gittins, Laslett, and Shorter concerning the definition of the "family" and the kinship composition of households.

³¹² However, it was not unusual for newly married couples to live with parents, and other instances of co-residence were common. But, most families did not have co-resident kin.
Roberts, *Place*, pp.175-7.

³¹³ She found that interwar migration in Barrow reduced family contact in some cases
Ibid. pp.172,177,180-1.

³¹⁴ Sykes, thesis, pp.65-6.

For further discussion of the importance of proximity in kinship support see:

(i) Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971)

(ii) Martin Clarke, "Household and Family in Bethnal Green, 1851-71 : The Effects of Social and Economic Change", PhD thesis (Australian National University, Canberra, 1992)

Both of these studies are discussed in Thane, *op. cit.* chapter 15.

³¹⁵ Ethel was alone with her father-in-law when he died.

Entry for 28 Jan 1929 in Wright, *op. cit.*

³¹⁶ Cyril Davey, *Home from Home : The Story of the Methodist Homes for the Aged* (1976), pp.21-2.

Chapter Three

The World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

This chapter continues the theme of childhood and adolescence, but extends beyond the immediate home environment. Two main themes will be investigated: firstly, the chances for intellectual development available to the young of the Connexion as they matured into adolescence and adulthood, and the extent to which Methodists from the various categories and social classes availed themselves of such opportunities; secondly, the moral temptations to which these young people were subjected, and the degree to which all categories and social classes of Methodists succumbed to such "vices".

The chapter will open by focussing attention on the importance of literature within the Methodist home, a medium whereby the child might be introduced to the customs and attitudes of a wider society. Emphasis will be placed upon the degree to which the reading enjoyed by Methodist children was compatible with Connexional proclamations on this subject.

Secondly, assessment will be made of the extent to which Methodists were able to participate in the expanding secular and Connexional educational opportunities which arose during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, particular emphasis being placed upon discrimination in terms of gender and social class. In addition, the degree to which the post-1870 Connexional educational policy was driven by secular factors will be investigated.

Thirdly, evaluation of contacts with the wider world will be continued by an examination of recreational activities. The games and sports

played by the youth of the movement will be investigated to determine the extent to which behaviour was governed by considerations of social class and the category of Methodist subject involved.

Finally, discussion will focus upon those activities, such as gambling, smoking and drinking, which were regarded as particularly tempting attractions to young Methodists. The extent to which they and their elders yielded to such temptations will be assessed in the light of both Connexional and "respectable" promulgations.

Reading within the Home

Even before the commencement of the period covered by this study reading was a favourite pastime within the Methodist home. Recalling his childhood, Benjamin Gregory (born 1820, editor of Connexional publications) proudly recorded: "I do not remember a time when I could not read" ¹. Frederick Macdonald recalled that in his childhood home of the 1840s and 1850s his father spent "heroically" on books ². Such enthusiasm linked Methodist families with current trends in the secular world, as the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the greatly increased availability of reading matter, the average number of books published per year rising from 372 during the 1790s, to 842 in 1828, and to 2,500 by 1853 ³.

The Connexion appeared to welcome such developments. A sermon of 1849 extolled the virtues of reading: "Nothing tends more to enlarge, cultivate, refine, and improve the mind than the habit of reading". However, the range of reading matter recommended was subject to restrictions, as the address then proceeded to recommend the Bible,

and related edifying works, such as *Companion to the Bible* and *The Manners and Customs of Nations mentioned in the Bible* ⁴.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Connexional reviews continued to commend the qualities of such literature. In 1878 *The Spare half Hour* by C H Spurgeon was recommended, the essays within its pages, "Although not exclusively devoted to religious topics, [being] full of sound gospel truth" ⁵. In 1900 the virtues of *Little Barbara's Dream* by Edith Greeves were recommended, as the heroine's "pleasure in the study of her new Bible....[is]....touchingly related" ⁶.

Concomitant with such recommendations was a more negative form of censorship, namely, the condemnation of the secular novel. In this respect, Methodist publications were characteristic of the wider Evangelical press of the nineteenth century. Correspondence in the *Evangelical Record* of 5 July 1838, for example, asked, "Who can calculate how many salutary lessons are effaced by novel-reading?" ⁷. In 1855 the *Methodist Magazine* related the grim fate of a young girl who, by reading stimulating novels, "wandered into the paths of the tempter" - by dreaming of unsuitable romantic attachments. After being duped by an unscrupulous man who falsely promised her marriage, she was left friendless, thus ending her life "in disgrace, ruin, disease, [with] a broken heart, and an untimely grave!" ⁸. But it was not only women who were threatened spiritually or morally by such works. In 1895 an article deplored the "critical spirit" of young men whose reading had robbed them of "simplicity and earnestness", turning them away from evangelistic work. This group of young malcontents then went into "rapture over Kipling, Barrie and company...and grows eloquent over the New Woman" ⁹.

Bradley contends that the nineteenth-century Evangelical household has often been depicted as restrictive towards children in its stern monitoring of reading matter (novels and fairy tales being banned, and even classics only allowed in heavily Bowdlerized versions ¹⁰). Indeed, Methodist personal accounts reveal severe censorship into the twentieth century, as illustrated by the "officer" Bullock home, where reading matter for the children comprised mostly those books awarded as Sunday School prizes. The most treasured prize of the father of the family was the *Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftsbury*, in addition to which he regularly read the *Sunday Companion* and the *Christian Herald*. Other forms of reading were discouraged ¹¹.

However, evidence mainly found amongst accounts relating to middle-class families (namely, those more able to afford books) suggests that, throughout the second half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, "ministerial" and "officer" families allowed their children a choice of books far more heterogeneous in nature than that sanctioned by the Connexion. Moreover, even with those who acted as the Connexional mouthpiece, words did not always prove consistent with actions. The middle-class editor Benjamin Gregory "blighted the possibility of persuading the rank and file to liberal cultural attitudes" by the distrust of novels evident in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* during his term of office. Nevertheless, according to Rack, his personal reading exhibited a more liberal hue than that necessary to maintain the "decorous and serious tone" appropriate to a church journal ¹². As a young man in the mid-nineteenth century, Gregory had enjoyed the poetry of Goldsmith, Pope, Prior and Spenser, literature which "did cut into the heart of my spiritual development" ¹³, a fate from which he later endeavoured to save his readership. There is also evidence to suggest that both he and his sons continued to enjoy Dickens, albeit on moral grounds ¹⁴.

Other Methodist homes also, by manifesting a diversity in literary taste as might have been found within secular households, exhibited a liberality incompatible with official admonitions. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the library of the middle-class "ministerial" Macdonald family, although comprising mainly religious works, did contain some novels by Charles Kingsley and Walter Scott. During the same years the middle-class "officer" Ashby household read Kingsley, Dickens, W M Thackeray, and Thomas Hardy. In the 1870s and 1880s, within the "ministerial" division, the young Arthur S Peake enjoyed the works of Robert Louis Stevenson (although he also esteemed the spiritually uplifting Bunyan and the terrifyingly edifying *Fairchild Family* sufficiently to retain them as Sunday afternoon reading for his own children). During the same years and within the same category of subject (albeit further down the social scale), the young William Lax, though raised "to the seventh heaven" by John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Grace Abounding*, also enjoyed reading Fenimore Cooper and Thomas Hughes, as well as Robert Louis Stevenson. Within the working-class "officer" families, as a boy, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Thomas Carter's favourites included Rider Haggard and Jules Verne. In his youth, in the first decades of the next century, in his middle-class home the future minister Leslie Weatherhead had a fondness for G A Henty, R M Ballantyne and Conan Doyle. Within the same social stratum, during the 1920s, before he was introduced to the "more satisfying" works of Kenneth Grahame and Lewis Carroll by an aunt, Douglas Cock (future reporter for the *Methodist Recorder*) was addicted to *The Rainbow* tales of Tiger Tim and the Bruin Boys ¹⁵.

The presence of writers such as Hughes amongst the approved authors in nineteenth century Methodist homes suggests an endorsement of the more broadly held notion of "muscular Christianity" - a combination of

godliness and manliness, involving the promotion of physical strength, courage and health, which was manifested in secular novels such as *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1856)¹⁶. Brown's close friendship with Jack Hardy in *Tom Brown at Oxford* was the embodiment of "manly love", an important element in relationships between "muscular Christians", with their chivalric loyalty and self-sacrifice¹⁷. Moreover, the notion of manliness permeated society via the works of George Alfred Henty, who dominated the boys' book market from about 1885 to the First World War. Such novels as *Held Fast for England* (1893) displayed a "sturdy" English manliness, which was to some extent a reaction against the earlier tradition of the moral and spiritual kind. His heroes were "more conscious of the might of the British Empire...which to some extent, had replaced the Kingdom of Heaven in their emotions"¹⁸. Henty also wrote articles for the *Boys' Own Paper*, described by Patrick Dunne as the "unofficial organ" of "muscular Christianity"¹⁹. However, John Springhall thinks it unlikely that this publication, priced at one penny, would have been read by many working-class boys²⁰. Indeed, this research failed to reveal any evidence that the *Boys' Own Paper* formed part of its working-class Methodist subjects' reading.

Education

The prominence of reading in many Connexional homes reflected the importance placed upon education by Methodist families of all categories and social classes throughout the period researched. In a diary entry of 1875 "officer" farmer Cornelius Stovin expressed the desire that his children might "place their fortune in their heads and characters as well as, or rather than, the pocket"²¹. In the same decade, the middle-class "ministerial" Peake family struggled financially to send two sons to Ludlow Grammar school²². But it was not only for the middle-class

"officer" or "ministerial" families that education was recommended. In 1861 the *Methodist Recorder* stated the opinion that secular education might provide opportunities for the poor. The Reverend T Vasey expressed the hope that "reading, writing and ciphering" should be accompanied by a variety of subjects: "Why should not the ploughboy be taught drawing if he had a taste for it? An explanation of the construction of a steam-engine might develop some poor lad's engineering or mechanical genius"²³.

Such enthusiasm for popular education echoed that amongst the working class generally in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Vincent found that, even prior to the expansion of elementary schooling occasioned by the passing of the 1870 Education Act, the desire for education amongst the working class was widespread. He estimates that, prior to 1870, two-thirds upwards of working-class children received some schooling in both voluntary schools (in receipt of government grant), and (more commonly) in unassisted establishments, both of which required parental contributions ²⁴. The desire for education, often in the face of adverse conditions, was shared by those among the Methodist poor. For instance, the future minister Raymond Preston, the youngest of ten children in a family kept in poverty by his father's drinking, did, nevertheless, manage to attend a private school in his village for eighteen months during the 1860s ²⁵. During the same decade, and within the same category, Thomas Raymont attended a dame school which was run by a "capable and gentle lady" ²⁶. Indeed, though F M L Thompson concedes that examples of the Dickensian dame school did exist, not all unassisted schools were "noisome and evil places". The total dependence of such schools upon the patronage of parents who favoured secular tuition tended to ensure their efficiency in the teaching of the "three R's", making them successful rivals to the religious run voluntary sector ²⁷.

Nevertheless, for many children in society at large, school was only one of many strands of life. As Thompson asserts, "it was not the dominant or decisive element; the home and the neighbourhood, and later on the workplace and the pub, had superior influence in shaping the outlook of working-class youths and young adults". Attendance at school for the working-class child was likely to be irregular and to end by the age of 12 ²⁸. As Vincent points out, the pre-industrial dependence on the family to find children employment, for example, by incorporation into the father's occupation, continued into the nineteenth century. In this respect, Methodist children, like their peers in the secular society, could be deprived of education by the demands of the family economy. For instance, in the 1830s "officer" Joseph Arch, aged nine, began his career by bird scaring ²⁹. In this way a child's social position was fixed, as Arch lamented, "...the dark doom of the labourer's child fell upon me betimes" ³⁰.

By the end of the nineteenth century, legislation had whittled away opportunities for children to participate in full-time work; nevertheless, some continued to work throughout the Victorian period. Although in 1851 there were less than 42,000 children under the age of 10 recorded in employment, a number which had fallen to 21,000 by 1871, many 10 to 14 year olds continued in employment. Factory legislation came to define children as under 14, and the half-timers in the textile industries allowed under the Factory Acts numbered 32,000 in 1851, peaked at 105,000 in 1874, though fell to 21,000 in 1901 ³¹.

Even by the beginning of the next century the educational expectations of the 1870 Act had still not been fulfilled for many of the poorest. Charles Booth noted of the Board Schools in London's East End, that "the accomplishments of the 4th standard may all be forgotten, so that

reading becomes difficult and writing a lost art" ³². The integration of children's financial earnings into the family economy of the poor apparently continued, as illustrated by an editorial comment in the *Preston Guardian* of 1909: "There seems to be no doubt that a large number of the working class in Lancashire are not yet prepared voluntarily to accept any raising of the [school leaving] age, and are averse for any legislative enactment" ³³. Elizabeth Roberts discovered that into the interwar years many of the working class still clung to the Victorian work ethic, rejecting the morality of staying at school when "real" work could be done ³⁴. In spite of the 1918 abolition of exemptions allowing early school leaving, financial pressures often forced children to abandon school before the statutory leaving-age. This phenomenon was exemplified in the 1921 Census figures for Preston which revealed nearly 30 percent of 12 to 13 year old girls and 25 percent of boys in full-time work ³⁵. Moreover, Roberts found evidence that in times of emergency, such as a mother's illness or absence, working-class girls might become a mother substitute, thus losing possible educational opportunities through absenteeism caused by the burden of family care³⁶.

Such absenteeism occurred within Connexional schools. D A Warfield recalled that, into the latter decades of the nineteenth century, absenteeism was always a problem at the Wesleyan day-school (founded in 1843) in the village of Paulton near Bristol. The reasons for non-attendance by these Methodist children - inadequate clothing, attendance at social events, the need for assistance in farm work at certain times of year ³⁷ , or the requirement to look after younger siblings ³⁸ - show a close link between their family circumstances and those of their peers in the secular world.

Methodist personal accounts further illustrate this point by yielding examples of children (both prior to and after 1870) receiving

little or no education. Although he did manage to attend the village school for a short time, by the age of eight (in 1869) financial conditions forced the future minister Raymond Preston to work part-time at the mill ³⁹. In the 1860s and 1870s the young children of Hannah Mitchell's "rank-and-file" family, living in an isolated farm in the Peak District, a considerable distance from the nearest school, were taught to read by their father and uncle. However, as they grew older, they did attend school, but only for a couple of years, during which time they boarded during the week at the school house. But Hannah, the youngest child, was deprived even of this minor privilege. After only a few weeks at school, she was kept at home to help her mother ⁴⁰.

Although Raymond Preston and the children of Paulton lived in rural areas, the rural/urban divide seems to have had little relevance to their education. Instead, both, like their urban counterparts, had their schooling primarily dictated by the financial and social needs of their families. On the other hand, Hannah Mitchell's educational deprivation, though also informed by the demands of the family, was additionally occasioned by the isolation of her home, thus attesting to the significance of the rural/urban divide in her early life.

Sometimes fluctuations in economic circumstances could cause variations in educational opportunities between siblings. Within the "rank-and-file", Bernard Hesling's eldest brother, Holroyd, aged 16, had been able to complete his education and find work in an office by the time his father failed in business in the 1900s. The next son, Ben, was not so lucky. Aged ten at the time of the failure, he was obliged to leave full-time education and enter the mill as a half-timer. Bernard fared better, when, a few years later, his father died, thus (through the aegis of his local chapel community) qualifying him for the Wheatley Orphanage. This institution, was not, in fact, an orphanage, but rather

a boarding school - "Quite probably it was even a Public School" - for the sons of respectable Nonconformist families who had lost their fathers ⁴¹.

However, education was not necessarily governed by material circumstances. In the first decade of the twentieth century Doris Simpson (future mother of "officer" William Farrar Vickers) who, though belonging to a wealthy middle-class family (her father was head of a firm of perambulator manufacturers), was taken out of school due to her mother's ill-health, and kept at home to care for her six younger siblings ⁴².

There were other features in relation to education which traversed the barriers of social class. Roberts found that her working-class subjects expected school not only to provide instruction in the "three R's", but also to reinforce habits of respectability, obedience and hard work first learned at home in the family ⁴³. Burstyn, examining middle-class expectations, contends that "the school was displacing the family as the guardian of morality and culture" ⁴⁴, an assertion echoed in John Demos' comment, "broadly speaking, the history of the family has been a history of contraction and withdrawal; its central theme is the gradual surrender to other institutions of functions that once lay very much within the realm of family responsibility" ⁴⁵.

Indeed, although it welcomed the late nineteenth century expansion in educational opportunities, the Connexion feared that too much responsibility for the inculcation of morality was being placed upon the school. An article of 1870 on crime and education contended that families who regularly sent children to school might, indeed, display industry, order, frugality, and "a healthy moral influence". However, it was to this latter quality, which was attained within the home, rather

than to education, that preservation from crime should be ascribed. Consequently, since many criminals may have had an education : "Domestic, not scholastic training, is the chiefest cause of the difference" ⁴⁶. Such a commentary betrays fears not only of a fragmentation or dislocation of a sacred duty hitherto assigned primarily to the family, but also of the encroachment of secular influences within the Methodist home.

However, the school did, in its discipline, reflect the home in attempting to instil obedience, duty and industry. Sometimes the methods used were severe, as described by Methodist personal accounts of both the working and middle class which relate to the latter decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries. William Lax miserably recalled the strictness of his first teacher in the 1870s, who rapped the knuckles of those who held their pens too tightly, a painful indoctrination into the principle "the more lightly we hold mortal things, the more usefully they are one's own" ⁴⁷. Further up the social scale, Leslie Weatherhead had similar recollections of a school which, at the age of five, in 1898, instilled in him "a continual terror and humiliation", where children were caned for arriving late, failure to understand lessons, or errors in homework ⁴⁸. Examples of corporal punishment continued into the second decade of the twentieth century, as Robert Richardson's infants' teacher (in the village school in Hethersett, Norfolk) attempted to knock obedience and sense into her young charges by banging their heads against the wooden dado of the classroom wall ⁴⁹. Jim Bullock (born 1903) recalled boys being caned at the school in the mining community of Bowers Row. Usually parents endorsed punishments given at this school, but some did complain. Although complaints were ignored by teachers, Bullock noticed that the children of complainers were caned less often ⁵⁰.

The favourable discrimination towards girls in the matter of discipline in the school in Bower's Row can be linked with other gender based differences in education which prevailed in the secular society. Such distinctions affected girls of all social classes, and usually proved disadvantageous to female pupils. The Taunton Commission of 1864 revealed a complex and largely inadequate picture of schooling for the upper and middle-class girl. The wealthiest might be tutored by governesses and visiting masters; some attended boarding or ladies' seminaries of varying qualities; some at the lower echelons of this sector of society endured institutions "rarely anything better than a superior dame school in a parlour or a very inferior visiting governess" ⁵¹. But as Branca points out, most were educated at home by their mother, most middle-class families being unable to afford either a governess or school fees ⁵². A similar situation occurred in the Macdonald household where the eldest three daughters, Alice, Caroline and Georgiana, after briefly attending a Wesleyan day-school in Birmingham in 1850, were withdrawn and continued their education at home. It was not the mother, however, who guided their studies but friends of their older brother, Harry, who, like himself, attended King Edward VI Grammar School in Edgbaston ⁵³.

Many critics claimed that middle-class girls' education was too impractical, with too much emphasis on music, dancing, fancy needlework, and some familiarity with a foreign language ⁵⁴. But Branca argues that any criticism that middle-class Victorian girls lacked instruction in domestic skills was unjust, for the so-called "ornamental" education would have been confined to the wealthier sector of this class, the majority of the girls being taught how to undertake households tasks by their mothers ⁵⁵.

This concern to tutor girls in social and domestic skills, to prepare them for future family life was reflected in Connexional writing on girls' education. For instance, an advertisement in the *Methodist Recorder* in 1861 for an "Establishment for Young Ladies" at Brill, near Oxford, stressed "...the young ladies are kindly treated; their morals strictly watched", and although students were trained for business, they were also prepared for "the attainment of those higher accomplishments which constitute the embellishment of a refined and superior education" ⁵⁶. In 1870 an article, though advocating "advanced" female employment, also acknowledged that "fitness for the discharge of home-duties must be the chief result of all education" ⁵⁷.

The Connexion and "respectable" society jointly emphasised the importance of domestic skills for the lower echelons of society, a trait persisting into the twentieth century. For instance, in the early decades of the twentieth century in the Wesleyan Paulton village school the girls were taught sewing ⁵⁸. In the non-Methodist school in Bowers Row, standard five girls were taught "a crude form of domestic science" while the boys were instructed in geology and the basic principles of mining. Here, the girls were also endowed with the social accomplishment of maypole dancing - the non-chapel-goers being better dancers than the chapel-goers ⁵⁹. Moreover, the day-continuation school, which was inaugurated by Jesse Boot in 1918 for his employees (who attended half a day per week), offered non-vocational, hobbies and physical training classes to males, whereas concentration was placed upon domestic science for the females ⁶⁰.

Sometimes frustrations were expressed at the inequality of opportunity, exemplified by the voices of two "rank-and-filers" within two different social classes. In 1900 the 16 year old middle-class Ruth Slate, having been forced to leave school aged 13, and frustrated in her

attempt to attend evening classes due to family commitments, confided in her diary: "I have, and always have had, craving to be clever and learn....My ambitions may never be satisfied, thwarted by circumstances, but they remain in me. Naturally reticent, I seldom show these feelings and am thought very discontented" ⁶¹. In the second decade of the twentieth century working-class Margaret McCarthy was angered at being prevented from joining the boys in their drawing classes, being obliged instead to do sewing and cookery ⁶².

However, no matter what inequalities were inherent within the system, from the outset, Connexional writings evinced welcome to the increased state provision of education which followed in the wake of the 1870 legislation. An article of that year linked learning with benefits to society: "In many ways ignorance is a serious limitation to man's usefulness, and as society improves, the disabilities of ignorance increase" ⁶³. In 1874, elementary schools were praised: "Primary education is imparted with much greater success than attends that which is called middle-class education; and we think the obvious reason is, that those who impart the first are trained, while many of those who impart the latter are not" ⁶⁴.

As the chapel's importance as an educational centre decreased in the wake of the 1870 Act, the Wesleyan movement was divided on whether to maintain, and even expand, the Methodist primary schools, or whether to run down the system in favour of state provision. The numerical strength of Wesleyan day schools peaked at 912 in 1873 ⁶⁵. However, from 1870 onwards the official policy of Methodist education increasingly favoured state provision of schools ⁶⁶. In fact, as early as 1872 Sir Isaac Holden, the Wesleyan benefactor, had realised that "denominational schools will [not] bear the competition of board schools" and that money given to Wesleyan day-schools would be "purely thrown away" ⁶⁷. In 1890

a special Wesleyan Education Committee presented its policy: to maintain Connexional schools whenever possible, but also to support Government provision of schools to ensure the availability of religious non-sectarian Christian instruction for every child ⁶⁸.

Indeed, in contrast to the fervent backing supplied by many Primitive Methodists, Wesleyans merely showed limited support for the withholding of rates by the Passive Resisters Movement which opposed "Rome on the Rates", an allegation arising from the 1902 Education Act, which transferred control of primary, secondary and higher education to local education authorities, and gave rate aid to all schools ⁶⁹. Admiration for those who actively opposed this legislation was reflected in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* of 1910, in which the Reverend Alfred Jones was described proudly as a "sturdy passive resister" ⁷⁰.

Despite its support for state schooling, and the apparent willingness for many Wesleyan parents to expose their children to the state system, the Wesleyans did make some increased provision in relation to secondary education. However, this enhancement of Connexional education was limited in nature, and had two main goals. Firstly, it was designed to cater for the needs of the sons of ministers, exemplified the expansion of the Kingswood and Woodhouse Grove schools, both of which already catered for this sector of Methodist youth. Secondly, "middle-class" schools were provided for the sons of laymen. Such institutions mostly originated as private enterprises, but later came under Connexional control ⁷¹.

Methodist personal accounts yielded examples of children from middle-class families who attended Connexional schools. For instance, in the 1850s and 1860s future businessman and Member of Parliament, Robert Perks, was educated at New Kingswood School, Bath (exclusively

for sons of ministers); in the 1860s the future minister Samuel Collier attended Bickerton House, Southport; as a child in the 1880s Norman Birkett, the son of a local preacher, attended a Wesleyan day-school; in the 1880s and 1890s the sons of "officer" John Angel Gibbs attended the Wesleyan Collegiate Institution at Taunton ⁷². The reason that the middle class yielded such examples need not have been due to a greater desire within their ranks to educate offspring at Connexional schools, but rather to their greater capability of affording education *per se*, and further to their financial ability to send their children away to Methodist establishments if none were to be found locally.

For the purposes of this research, it was the second goal of Connexional educational policy, namely the provision of middle-class schooling, which proved the more relevant. By this strategy the Connexion acknowledged the links between its membership and the secular world, such connections manifesting themselves in the growing material wealth enjoyed by many Methodists and non-Methodists alike throughout the period of this study.

During the period 1850-1935 real incomes rose by over 200 per cent. During the latter half of the nineteenth century an increase in real disposable incomes was indicated by the rising number of domestic servants - 1,300,000 in 1851, rising to 2,000,000 in 1881 ⁷³. A L Bowley estimated that the entire number of middle-class males constituted 21.5 percent of all occupied males in 1881, 22.3 percent in 1891, 23.3 percent in 1901, and 25 percent in 1911, the most rapid increase being in the lower echelons of this social stratum ⁷⁴.

Such changes in the social composition of the secular world are also discernable within the Connexion. Methodism had always been a socially

heterogeneous movement ⁷⁵, but despite its diversity, families of skilled workers were strongly represented within Wesleyanism and Primitive Methodism throughout the nineteenth century ⁷⁶. Nevertheless, studies have revealed a rise in social status of both Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist congregations from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1930s. For instance, London baptismal and marriage registers indicate a rise within the Wesleyan membership of those belonging to category II (non-manual workers, including minor employers, retailers, local government officers, teachers) from 32 per cent in the period 1840-70 to 39 per cent in 1900-30. There was a corresponding rise in Primitive Methodist membership from 13 to 29 percent. Local evidence confirms this trend. For example, the Oxford Primitive Methodist circuit baptismal registers indicate that, for the years 1841-60, 51 per cent of the membership fell into category IV-V (semi- and unskilled workers), a proportion which had fallen to 34 per cent by the period 1921-40 ⁷⁷.

Methodist personal accounts of "officers", whose lives span the whole of the period of this study, yield examples of those members of the movement who achieved immense financial success during their lifetimes, their wealth often proving of benefit to the Connexion ⁷⁸. For instance, William Hartley, the son of a grocer and later benefactor of Primitive Methodism, built up a business which yielded profits of £18,000 per annum by 1883. His benefactions included financial support for "ministerial" training - for example, he donated £20,000 towards the expansion of the building of the training college for ministers in Manchester, renamed Hartley College in 1906. He also contributed generously towards chapel building - a widespread visible manifestation of Connexional affluence ⁷⁹. Sir Isaac Holden, a Wesleyan benefactor, who donated generously to the Metropolitan Building Fund, began his career as a book-keeper in a textile mill, rose to become

manager of the mill before successfully establishing his own business in the 1860s ⁸⁰. Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge, the son of a farmer, began work as an apprentice to a draper, went on to build up his own retail business, the success of which was manifested in the estate of £302,409 which he left on his death in 1892, and from which the Wesleyan Connexion benefited ⁸¹. On receiving a legacy of £500 from his father, Joseph Rank started in business as a mill owner. Although, on his death in 1941, his estate had been reduced to £70,000 by various benefactions (which included generous donations to the Methodist movement - as his biographer recorded, "...he poured out his fortune for the use of the Church"), during his lifetime his various business interests had made him a millionaire ⁸².

Traditionally, in the secular society, the educational needs of such immensely growing wealth had been met by public schools. Frank Musgrove contends that the public school enabled the sons of the newly rich to rise above the social status of their fathers. In 1868 the Taunton Commission was informed that the socially aspirant "turns away from the class out of which he has risen, and strives to attach himself...if it is possible, even to the landed gentry. The first step to this end is to send his children away from home to a boarding school, nominally to get rid of the dialect, but really to get rid of the cousins" ⁸³. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the large increases in material prosperity within the Methodist movement demanded that public schooling also form part of the Connexional provision of education for its middle class. This demand was met by Officialdom in 1875 with the foundation of the Leys School in Cambridge for those Wesleyans of social aspiration and/or achievement. For instance, having gained success in business, Joseph Rank "began to move in a larger orbit", and ensured that his children had a better education than himself, two of his sons being sent to the Leys ⁸⁴.

The Leys opened the way to the universities ⁸⁵. Within the Connexion there were differences of opinion as to the efficacy of university education: while being favoured by many, it was perceived by others as beset by dangers. In the words of Benjamin Gregory, "Few Methodists who go to either university come away Methodists" ⁸⁶. Some in the Connexion thought that faith would be protected by provision of a Wesleyan college or hostel in Oxford, and by making the Leys in Cambridge available for use by Methodist students. Others saw a better safeguard in the development of the chaplaincy work, for which the Thanksgiving Fund of 1878 provided financial support ⁸⁷. Fears concerning the potential role of education in the rejection of religion were echoed in fiction. In *The Farringtons*, a novel written in 1900 by Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, (the daughter of the prominent Wesleyan and politician Henry Hartley Fowler, later Lord Wolverhampton) the arrogance of hero, Alan Tremaine, was attributed to education:

He "devoted himself to the cultivation of the intellect and the suppression of his soul. Because his mother had been a religious woman, he reasoned that faith was merely an amiable feminine weakness; and because he himself was clever enough to make passable Latin verses, he argued that no Supernatural Being could have been clever enough to make him" ⁸⁸.

However, there was little evidence of defection from the Connexion among those subjects, from both the working and middle classes, who benefited from higher education, the influence of Methodist home life apparently overcoming any potentially corrupting elements of the college environment ⁸⁹. Middle-class Robert William Perks, graduate of Kings College, London in the early 1870s, became one of the first laymen to be admitted to the Wesleyan Conference in 1878 ⁹⁰. Arthur Samuel Peake, who graduated from Oxford in the 1880s, followed in his father's ministerial footsteps, going on to become a prominent leader of Primitive Methodism, and an innovator in "ministerial" training ⁹¹. Similarly, Robert Newton Flew, after leaving Oxford in the second

decade of the twentieth century, followed his father into the ministry⁹². In addition, there is no evidence that Ronald Gould, who came from a working-class "rank-and-file" family abandoned Methodism after benefiting from higher education he received in the 1920s. However, Connexional influences played a prominent part in his higher education - Gould attended Westminster College, and his fees were subsidised by the Methodist Church⁹³. An exception lay in working-class Thomas Rayment who, despite having two brothers enter the ministry, became unattached to any particular denomination after leaving his Tavistock home at the age of 19 in 1883 to attend the non-denominational Borough Road (teacher training) College in London. However, the seeds of defection may have been sown prior to entering college, since, while still at home, he had read works of such liberal thinkers as F W Robertson. London merely offered further opportunity to break away from Methodist thinking by allowing him to become "a sort of religious wanderer", who went from church to church to hear great preachers, amongst whom was F W Farrar, whose "Eternal Hope" undermined (as did Robertson's teaching) the hell-fire preaching meted out in his home Tavistock chapel⁹⁴.

It was not only males who had begun to benefit from greater educational opportunities. Although the importance of domestic and social skills were emphasised by some in society, opinions concerning women's education were not homogeneous throughout the secular world. Differences in attitudes in some quarters were already apparent at mid-nineteenth century, as illustrated by the comment in the *Saturday Review* in 1864: "A girl will be none the less feminine because she has some serious interests in life, none the less graceful because her tastes have a wider range than mere schoolroom accomplishments, none the less attractive because she sympathises, and to some extent shares, the pursuits of a graver kind"⁹⁵.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an expansion in the provision of secondary and higher education, catering largely for middle-class girls. Public schools for girls appeared firstly in the form of Cheltenham Ladies College, founded in 1854. High schools were set up by the Girls' Public Day School Company (later, Trust) founded in 1873 ⁹⁶. Higher education had first appeared from the late 1860s and 1870s in the guise of Newnham and Girton at Cambridge, and Lady Margaret Hall and St Hugh's at Oxford. Moreover, in the 1880s many universities began to follow the 1878 example of London in making degrees, honours and prizes open to women ⁹⁷.

Such increasingly heterogeneous and numerous opportunities for secondary and higher education for (mainly middle-class) women within secular society found parallels within the Connexion. Edgehill College, Bideford was established by the Bible Christians in 1884 as a boarding school for girls, an institution which also acted as a teacher-training centre. Similarly, teacher training for girls was offered by the Wesleyans at Southlands College, Wimbledon, opened in 1872. Formerly girls could receive training at Westminster College, which was now given over to men. Pritchard contends that their foundation of such institutions symbolised a spirit of emancipation for women within the Connexion ⁹⁸.

Despite the foundation of institutes for secondary and higher education for women during the second part of the nineteenth century, Burstyn contends that the opinion was still rife amongst the middle class that learning was necessary for men, who relied upon reason, but for women it might interfere with their intuition, and thus destroy their femininity ⁹⁹. There were physical reasons put forward for females to avoid a surfeit of learning. It was argued that education made women

sterile, with amenorrhoea and chlorosis often being the results of nervousness due to overpressure in education between the ages of 15 and 20. Moreover, a close connection existed between physical and mental development, those with the most highly developed female physiology exhibiting the most feminine intellect ¹⁰⁰.

It was feared that higher education would lead to unrealistic professional expectations. In 1869 Sarah Ellis, the proprietor of a girls' school, pointed out, women would not be employed, "Not from inaptness or unwillingness in themselves, but there being actually no work for them to do" ¹⁰¹. In any case, they would rarely complete training, marriage requiring its abandonment: "It is well for a young man to bind himself for four years, and to think of marrying after that apprenticeship is over. But such a prospectus will not do for a girl. While the sun shines the hay must be made, and her sun shines earlier in the day than that of him who is to be her husband" ¹⁰².

It was also feared that higher education would make women discontented and ill-prepared for marriage. As the *Quarterly Review* of 1866 pointed out, "sensible men" rarely took wives "from the ranks of those ladies who have courted the appellation of 'blues'" ¹⁰³. There may have been a kernel of truth in this implication of incompatibility between matrimony and educational achievement. Only 120 out of 720 women who had passed through Newnham from its foundation in 1875 to 1893 had married during that time. In addition, only 46 of Girton's 335 graduates, and 29 from Somerville's total of 173 had married ¹⁰⁴. Such an apparent change in women's attitude towards marriage afforded by education could threaten the family, or even society itself.

However, change in girls' education was not always as radical as might be thought. For instance, in most high schools lessons were only given

in the morning, the afternoons being spent at home ¹⁰⁵. In her autobiography, *My Own Story* (1914), Emmeline Pankhurst wrote, "The education of the English boy, then as now, was considered a much more serious matter than the Education of the English boy's sister...A girl's education...seemed to have for its prime object the art of 'making home attractive' - presumably to migratory male relatives'" ¹⁰⁶.

Nevertheless, change was afoot. Although such "ladylike" subjects as singing and elocution still figured prominently ¹⁰⁷, some advertisements for middle-class educational establishments appearing in Connexional writings by the 1920s appear to have shifted somewhat towards the academic. For instance, the *Methodist Recorder* of August 1 1929 informed the readership that at Trinity Hall, Southport (a school for the daughters of both the ministry and laity) "Pupils [are] prepared for university" ¹⁰⁸. Personal accounts revealed a small sample of daughters from middle-class Methodist families attending institutes of higher learning, but such examples did not occur until the years around the turn of the century - decades later than the time when higher education for women was first instituted. For instance, the sister of E Benson Perkins (not surprisingly as a daughter of a prominent "officer") attended Southlands College ¹⁰⁹, and Olive Marsh (the daughter of a Greenwich builder and future wife of Josiah Stamp) attended University College Aberystwyth ¹¹⁰.

On the other hand, not all were so fortunate, the heterogeneity of educational experiences being underlined by contemporary studies which revealed that, in society at large, lower down the social scale, even by the 1920s, few working-class children (male or female) had the opportunity of even a secondary education. A 1926 study revealed an average of 1.3 scholarships per 1000 pupils in seven poorer London boroughs, compared to 5.3 per 1000 in seven of the better off. Even if

scholarships were won, they could not always be taken up. For, although fees might be paid by the Free Place System introduced in 1907, the financial burdens placed on the family in providing uniform, equipment and travel in many cases proved prohibitive. Working-class girls were less likely to enjoy the benefits of education than their brothers, the probability of their winning scholarships being smaller ¹¹¹.

Nevertheless, Methodist personal accounts revealed that, within the Connexion, in the early decades of the twentieth century higher education was not confined to girls from wealthier families, or those who had a minister or chapel officer for a father. In this respect, Methodist women of all social standings emulated their educationally ambitious sisters in the non-Methodist world by taking advantage of such increasing opportunities for learning. "Rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate, in 1914, at the age of 30, after finally escaping the tyranny of her home, studied for a Birmingham University Diploma in Social Sciences ¹¹². Although her family's fortunes had been badly impaired by the premature death of her father, in 1925 the 17 year old Greta Barker won scholarships which enabled her to enter University College, London ¹¹³. By making no distinction between Methodist and non-Methodist, Bullock linked the experiences of working-class girls within the Connexion with those in the non-Methodist world in his observation that, in the early decades of the twentieth century, Bowers Row miners' daughters would occasionally become teachers ¹¹⁴. Incidentally, contrary to the nineteenth century studies on female graduates and marriage, all of the individually identified Methodist female subjects who undertook higher education, in fact, found a husband ¹¹⁵.

The Work Ethic

The striving for academic self-improvement evident in Methodists, such as Barker and Slate, may be considered in the context of a wider so-called "work ethic". This phenomenon was not unique to Methodism, but, according to Max Weber, originated amongst the Protestant sects of the sixteenth century. This theory connects the Puritans to those cultural imperatives needed for the emergence of capitalism, imperatives which stress the association between hard work, thrift, abstinence and religious salvation ¹¹⁶. E P Thompson endorses Erich Fromm's contention that what was needed to generate industrial capitalism was "inner compulsion [which would prove] more effective in harnessing all energies to work than any outer compulsion should be" ¹¹⁷. This imperative accords with what Andrew Ure terms "the first and great lesson...that man must expect his chief happiness, not in the present, but in a future state" ¹¹⁸. Thus Thompson asserts, "in labour itself...undertaken for no ulterior motives but (as Dr Ure has it) 'a pure act of virtue' there is evident sign of grace" ¹¹⁹.

In his examination of the work ethic, Rack concedes that Methodism did appeal to the industrious middling and artisan classes in its encouragement of industry and frugality, and discouragement of conspicuous consumption on adornment. However, he contends that Wesley's injunction: "Gain all you can; save all you can; give all you can" ¹²⁰ was not intended to incite any ruthlessly competitive entrepreneurship, but rather to encourage honest trade amongst the membership in order to provide for the family ¹²¹. Moreover, it was the third injunction which was most important to Wesley, as he urged more charity for poor ¹²².

Nevertheless, official writings in the second half of the nineteenth century often reconciled ideology and materialism by implying a link between spiritual regeneration and improvements in secular life. For instance, writing in 1891 A C Pratt recalled Mr Phipps of Wolverhampton, who began life as an illiterate collier early in the century, was converted, saved his money wisely, entered and worked hard in business, and thus prospered ¹²³. Moreover, Connexional writings throughout the whole period covered by this thesis also endorsed the work ethic by upholding the merits of labour and discouraging laziness and apathy. An article of 1857 attributed crime and pauperism to laziness, whereas "those who constitute the business portion of the community, those who make our great and useful men, were trained up in their boyhood to be industrious" ¹²⁴. In 1895 those apathetic young men for whom "Life passes in brooding, dreaming, criticising, wishing" were exhorted to have aspirations - "discontents, ambitions, enthusiasms" - of the type required in "truly Christian...capable honourable, useful men" ¹²⁵. In 1910 readers were urged to persevere in their efforts: "We do not become experts by waiting, but by working" ¹²⁶. A 1930 review of the book, *Answers to Everyday Questions* by Dr Parkes Cadman, quoted from its pages the advice given by a self-made wealthy father to his son: "When you graduate I want you to work as hard as I did, not from necessity, but from choice." ¹²⁷.

All categories of Methodist personal accounts, relating to the whole period covered by this research, attested to a capacity for hard work, the motivation for which proved heterogeneous in character. The Reverend George Macdonald, a man of restless energy and little sleep, instilled an abhorrence of idleness into his family. However, spiritual purposes lay behind the labours of this man who was a dedicated Methodist, one who, at the expense of his health, devoted

the greater portion of his time and energy to the Connexion, its ethos permeating every aspect of his daily life. Sometimes travelling great distances from his circuit to preaching engagements, he worked tirelessly until his death in 1868 ¹²⁸.

Other non-ministerial subjects, from amongst the middle and working classes, manifested more secular motivations for extending their efforts, namely, ambition, conscientiousness, or poverty. During his apprenticeship in the drapery trade in the 1830s "officer" businessman Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge exhibited an "enthusiasm for immensely hard work", taking only seven days holiday per year from his work ¹²⁹. "Officer" Jesse Boot worked 16 hours every weekday in order to build his business in the latter decades of the nineteenth century ¹³⁰. An upwardly socially mobile "rank-and-file" Methodist subject of Roberts recalled that his father, never a "clock watcher" often did unpaid overtime during these years ¹³¹. Another "rank-and-filer", the working-class Margaret McCarthy, recalled that, in the early years of the twentieth century, her impoverished widowed mother worked in a factory by day and as a milliner at night, often being obliged to work all night to fulfil orders ¹³².

Some Methodists enrolled in evening classes to improve their skills and learning. Personal accounts from middle-class "officer" families revealed that, at the turn of the twentieth century Arthur, the eldest son of Joseph Ashby, who had been obliged to leave school before his twelfth birthday, attended classes in Mathematics ¹³³. After leaving school at the age of 15 to work in his father's drapery business, Norman Birkett attended evening classes twice a week, the subjects including shorthand, physiology and English Literature ¹³⁴. Similarly, as a young man, Thomas Wright attended night school for many years, his studies

being as diverse as Chemistry, English, Physics, Electrical Engineering, Greek, Latin, Economics, Drama, Theology and Logic ¹³⁵.

Children at Play

Academic pursuits, either in the form of reading within the home or attendance at classes outside, were not the only activities recommended to the Methodist child as he or she progressed through childhood and prepared to make contact with society at large. Connexional children shared with their peers in the secular world a need for recreation, a requirement acknowledged by Methodist Officialdom. A Connexional article of 1855 recommended, besides books, "a blackboard, or a few innocent toys" ¹³⁶. But play might also be subject to restraints and hold a rational purpose. Another official article of 1873 favoured children's play "with proper limitations" as a means of monitoring moral progress, since, "In the play-ground the child's character is far more easily to be seen than upon the school-bench, or when under restraint" ¹³⁷.

Such Connexional approval of play (albeit qualified) must be viewed in the context of the dynamic toy industry within the secular world. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a rising market for an increasing variety of toys, which manifested itself in growing advertising (and advertising gimmicks), written articles about toys, and the introduction of trade magazines ¹³⁸. Walvin asserts that, already by 1850, the toy industry, while tending to concentrate upon the more prosperous end of the market, was also producing cheaper versions, such as the so-called Bristol toys (mainly wheel-toys - carts, omnibuses, etc.), which retailed at a penny. However, the poorest had to rely upon resourcefulness, making dolls from straw or rags, balls of crumpled paper, or using old rope for skipping ¹³⁹. Indeed, Rowntree's study of

rural labourers at the turn of the twentieth century revealed that, after his subjects had set aside just over half for tobacco out of a total disposable income of 6d per week, twopence halfpenny was left for other indulgences, a sum which ensured "that toys and dolls and picture books, even of the cheapest quality should never be purchased" ¹⁴⁰.

However, toys did not receive universal approval in secular society. Heterogeneity of opinion is underlined by advocates of "rational recreation", who were vocal in society at large in the first half of the nineteenth century, and could still be heard in the 1880s. For instance, in 1883 J Paget contended that recreations were only justified if "they may increase the power and readiness for work; beyond this they should not be allowed to pass" ¹⁴¹. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, Kenneth Brown asserts, "the twin forces of commercialism and the greater consumer choice offered by rising incomes had rescued a lot of activities from hands such as these" ¹⁴².

Throughout the period of this research, Methodist children appear to have enjoyed the same diversity of experiences in their play as those in the secular world. As in other families, financial circumstances largely determined the nature of the toys owned by Connexional children. Middle-class "officer" Robert Richardson admitted to possessing spinning tops and driving hoops in the second decade of the twentieth century ¹⁴³. He and working-class "officer" Cliff Willetts (born 1899) also played marbles ¹⁴⁴. However, in common with others of his social standing in the wider society, Willetts played with home made toys, recalling kites made from old newspapers. Also popular amongst his friends were skipping and hopscotch ¹⁴⁵. During the same years, skipping and hopscotch were enjoyed by working-class "officer" Jim Bullock and his friends, who also played team games, including football and cricket ¹⁴⁶. In fact, team games were mentioned by Methodists of both the middle and working classes in

personal accounts relating to the previous century. In the 1860s the middle-class future minister John Scott Lidgett played hockey and football with other young members of his extended family ¹⁴⁷. Similarly, during the 1880s, within the same category, working-class Joseph Barlow Brooks and his companions formed a football and cricket club, and raised money for equipment by selling garden vegetables ¹⁴⁸.

In spite of the gregariousness implicit in the playing of such games, evidence relating to childhood pastimes, revealed by middle-class "ministerial" and "officer" accounts which span the majority of years covered by this research, may, conversely, betray the separation of the Methodist child from the non-Methodist world. For instance, in the 1840s and 1850s their father's itinerancy prevented the young Macdonalds from forming lasting friendships outside the family. The children would often successfully amuse themselves by staging amateur dramatics and playing word games ¹⁴⁹. Writing in later life, Frederick Macdonald regretted this isolation, which could lead to insufficient sympathy for outsiders, and the prizing of certain "unmeritorious" characteristics within the family: "In their love and admiration for other members of the family...[they].. may come to think more highly of common gifts and qualities than it is altogether good for them, and to undervalue other qualities which it would not be amiss for them to cultivate" ¹⁵⁰. A few decades later, the "officer" Vickers children produced concerts - playing instruments, singing and reciting poetry - when the family entertained friends, but these occasions were rare, since "people kept themselves to themselves" ¹⁵¹. More severely, minister's grandson Basil Willey, an only child at the beginning of the twentieth century, recalls his childhood as one of "insulation and isolation", as his family was "withdrawn by religion and inclination from the world and society". He fondly remembered Christmas tea at his Grandma Willey's home, where he played with his only cousin: "To have

as a playmate a near relation of about my own age was for me an occurrence as wonderful as it was rare" ¹⁵².

Even if family circumstances did not place limitations upon friendships, young people were expected to choose their companions with care. The dangers caused by conflict or incompatibility between Methodist values and those of the wider world, which were inherent in association with outsiders, were emphasised in official writings during the nineteenth century. A sermon of 1844 stressed to young persons the importance of choosing the right companions: "You will delight in the society of the ungodly, and the companionship of fools, - or in the fellowship of saints and the counsels of the wise" ¹⁵³. Similarly, one of 1874 contended, "A Christian friend is a treasure for eternity...But all other friendships, however beautiful they may seem, will wither as the grass and fade as the flower" ¹⁵⁴.

"Ministerial" accounts attested to a distrust of the companionship provided by the non-Methodist world. On conversion to Wesleyanism during the 1870s (future minister) Thomas Waugh, broke off all contacts with his godless friends ¹⁵⁵. This research revealed evidence of the persistence of this attitude, at least within the "ministerial" membership, well into the twentieth century. Writing in the 1930s, minister William Lax revealed misgivings about the ability of the young to resist the evil influences of those with whom they were obliged to associate in the non-Methodist world. He voiced fears that young people might be exposed to potential danger in the workplace, as he deplored the habit of some men to corrupt the mind of young workmates, regaling them with "filthy stories, corrupt morals, and indeed, positive incentives for wrongdoing" ¹⁵⁶.

Nevertheless, such isolationist sentiments did not represent homogeneity of opinion throughout all "ministerial" families. Even the condition of those segregated might not have been totally the result of religious beliefs. This research has revealed evidence that, from the beginning of the period studied, integration with the non-Methodist world was sought by at least some within this category who had been kept apart from secular society. Although as children the Macdonald offspring were segregated from outside social contacts, during the early 1860s, when their father was assigned to the Wolverhampton circuit, Georgiana, Agnes and Louisa Macdonald, through the aegis of the mayor and his family (who were chapel members), eagerly enjoyed the delights of the upper echelons of the local society ¹⁵⁷. The introduction of the Macdonald sisters to the company and pleasures of the non-Methodist world was a clear instance of how an urban location with suitable social contacts, could foster integration with the secular world. Moreover, since the social class of the neighbouring children was not apparent from their accounts, the segregation of Basil Willey and the Vickers offspring from those outside their immediate circles could have been at least partly occasioned by a middle-class desire to avoid mixing with social inferiors.

Temptations of the non-Methodist World : (i) Gambling ¹⁵⁷

According to Connexional writing, the "vices" of the secular world included gambling, a view which was directly linked to that of other denominations, as illustrated by a Connexional article of 1895 which quoted the words of an Anglican cleric, the Dean of Rochester, the Very Reverend S R Hole:

"Let boys be taught that there is something contemptible, and unworthy of a gentleman, to be hankering after money which does not belong to them, which they cannot gain without inflicting loss and pain on others,

and that games which do not interest them unless their object is money are not worth playing at all" ¹⁵⁹.

As Mark Clapson asserts, "Gambling with its reliance upon risk, and with the return of capital based upon contingency only, subverted the meritocratic principles of the Puritan work ethic, in which capital was earned by hard work, talent and deferred gratification". The National Anti-Gambling League, founded in Manchester in 1889-90 by a coalition of Nonconformist churches, mounted an evangelical crusade against gambling, urging congregations to sign the pledge, and issuing twice a year a bulletin containing anti-gambling tracts and views of politicians such as Ramsey Macdonald and John Burns ¹⁶⁰.

If propensity towards this evil was to be nipped in the bud, it had to be attacked at the source, namely, in childhood and within the family environment. To this end, Connexional writing condemned any childish pastime which could result in the surrender to temptation, as illustrated by an article of 1885, which emphasised the importance of "wise regulation of Christian homes", for if card-playing, dice-throwing, billiards are encouraged therein, they may encourage children to be attracted to professional players outside ¹⁶¹.

However, the concern expressed in religious circles, both inside and outside Methodism, was only a manifestation of the anxiety felt in "respectable" society generally in response to the growth of this practice, which was particularly associated by social commentators with the lower orders. In 1869 James Greenwood reported, "...the vice of gambling is on the increase amongst the English working classes...twenty years ago there were but 3 or 4 sporting newspapers published in London; now there are more than a dozen" ¹⁶². The fear that lower-class bookmaking was expanding and spoiling what had formerly been a noble hobby found expression in Benjamin Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845), in which

Hump Chippendale, the hunched-backed "keeper of a second rate gaming house" was counterpoised against Captain Spruce, a "debonair personage" who took bets from the wealthy at Newmarket ¹⁶³.

Legislation attempted to curtail this activity. For instance, an Act of 1845 aimed to deter all social classes by removing the legal facilities for the recovery of gambling debts ¹⁶⁴. But the 1853 Betting Houses Act focused upon the poorer in society by attempting to eradicate "common gaming houses" in which the owner "held a bag against all comers" ¹⁶⁵. The poor were targeted again by legislation of 1874, which was passed to prevent street gambling. However, the legislative situation was confused by hastily passed bye-laws of the 1870s against obstruction, which were designed to supplement the national measures ¹⁶⁶. Indeed, it was declared by a House of Lords Select Committee of 1902 that laws on gambling were "lacking in principle and inconsistent". Moreover, police powers were "inadequate to check the practice" ¹⁶⁷. In fact, gambling spread, the growing working-class market being supplied by working-class bookmakers ¹⁶⁸.

Methodist personal accounts of "rank-and-file" families of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries evinced a disapproval of gambling which echoed that voiced by Officialdom and outside "respectable" parties. Opposition to the "vice" was expressed by two of Elizabeth Roberts' Methodist subjects - one the son of an inspector on the railways, the other the daughter of a poorer family, whose father was frequently out of work through illness. Both fathers forbade the playing of cards within the home ¹⁶⁹. However, ascending the social ladder, and entering the "officer" division, Joseph Rank took a keen interest in the race horses owned by his son. But, this interest was apparently prompted by a love of animals, as his biography yields no evidence of his participation in, or even attitude towards, gambling ¹⁷⁰.

On the other hand, since the association between race horses and gambling was so obvious, Rank's interest in the former suggests that he did not entirely share in the Connexion's condemnation of the latter.

Temptations of the non-Methodist World : (ii) Tobacco

Smoking was another practice discouraged by nineteenth century Methodist Officialdom. A sermon addressed to men by John Ashworth starkly declared, "Either a cigar or a pipe shows that there is something radically wrong in a young man" ¹⁷¹. Articles of the 1860s and 70s in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* warned more specifically of dangers. For instance, there was the prospect of damage to the mind as tobacco's characteristic as a "nervine stimulant" might "excite or misdirect the automatic activity of the mind" ¹⁷². Physical diseases associated with tobacco included apoplexy, palsy, paralysis, neuralgia, epilepsy, dyspepsia and general atrophy. Moreover, such dangers designated smoking unpatriotic, since the habit depleted the energy of the nation ¹⁷³. Furthermore, it contravened the tenets of the Bible which teaches that the body is a temple of the Holy Ghost, and as such, should not be defiled: "Smoking is purely sensual, and therefore, a hindrance, not a help to spiritual life" ¹⁷⁴. In addition, for those unconcerned with mental or physical disease, with patriotism or, even, spirituality, there was the warning that, according to "well-authenticated opinion", tobacco was an "anti-aphrodisiac" ¹⁷⁵.

Nevertheless, despite these dire warnings, there is evidence that, among both middle- and working-class subjects throughout the period of this research, smoking was enjoyed by those of the membership who were prominent within the chapel. Minister Joseph Barlow Brooks (born in 1874) recalled childhood memories of his working-class maternal

grandmother, a founder member of the local Methodist New Connexion chapel, being an inveterate smoker of a churchwarden's pipe ¹⁷⁶. In the next century middle-class "officer" Thomas Wright regularly recorded expenditure on cigarettes and tobacco ¹⁷⁷.

Moreover, even Connexional literature was not always condemnatory. From the beginning of the period of this research there was occasional ambivalence about the issue, and by the end of the period there appeared to be a total change in attitude towards tobacco. The former attitude was illustrated by an 1860 article which, though condemning regular smoking as deleterious to mental and physical health, condoned it in special circumstances, for instance, as a nerve tranquilliser ¹⁷⁸. By the first decades of the twentieth century a complete reversal in the Connexional stance was apparent in the display of tobacco advertisements in the *Methodist Recorder* ¹⁷⁹.

Temptations of the non-Methodist World : (iii) Alcohol

Throughout the period of this study, however, Connexional literature showed no such softening in attitude towards what was considered a graver danger to mankind, namely, alcohol. The temperance movement had arrived in England in 1829, at which time it only condemned the drinking of spirits ¹⁸⁰. R W Ambler contends that whereas Primitive Methodism showed official support for the temperance movement from the early 1830s, Wesleyanism, though evincing some backing at a local level from the same decade, did not give official support to the movement until the 1870s ¹⁸¹. Indeed, this research has revealed evidence of people connected with the sale of alcohol holding prominent positions within Wesleyan chapels up to the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, John Freeman, writing of Bilston Wesleyan Methodism, recorded early Methodist

meetings being held in a local pub called *The Hole in the Wall*, the early nineteenth century congregation including a wine merchant ¹⁸². A maltster could be found among the trustees of the Wesleyan chapel in Paulton, near Bristol, at mid-century ¹⁸³. Moreover, publicans were numbered among the local preachers who visited the Wesley chapel in Dudley during the first half of the century ¹⁸⁴.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century the Temperance Movement had grown both in scope and in support, and backed by many Evangelicals, it had, by now, been transmuted into an organisation advocating total abstinence ¹⁸⁵, a condition supported within all categories and social classes of the Methodist membership throughout the whole period researched. Minister Arthur Samuel Peake, a staunch teetotaler, became a temperance orator in the 1880s ¹⁸⁶. "Officer" businessman Joseph Rank refused to offer alcohol to customers meetings: "Such drinking, he was convinced, undermined health and judgement, and he had no wish to take advantage of such impairment" ¹⁸⁷. Minister Peter Thompson opposed the granting of licenses in London, acquiring the premises of the White Swan Music Hall and Old Mahogany Bar during the 1880s for conversion to missions ¹⁸⁸. Less spectacularly, into the twentieth century, the middle-class "ministerial" Willey family, even at Christmas, eschewed alcohol¹⁸⁹. During the same years, within the "officer" category, the working-class father of Jim Bullock argued against moderate drinking, since it gave young men a false sense of security, their willpower vanishing after consuming drink bought for them by others ¹⁹⁰.

It was important to set an example to others. Hugh Price Hughes was converted to abstinence after taking up his ministerial appointment in Dover in 1869, when he came into contact with "real life": "How could he guarantee that those whom by the influence of his example he was teaching to drink, would be able to draw the line where he did?" ¹⁹¹.

Similarly, a Connexional article of 1885 exhorted ministers, teachers and parents to set a good example to children by abandoning temperance in favour of abstinence: "If they go no further than we go, you may say, they will take no harm. But are you sure that they will stop where you stop?" ¹⁹².

"Rank-and-file" families of the twentieth century yielded evidence of children following the parental example. Jack West (born 1910) acknowledged a debt to his father, "a man of very fine principles", a teetotaler and non-smoker, who gave him "a pure blood that has never craved for tobacco or alcohol" ¹⁹³. Sometimes, however, there was a hint of coercion, for the mother of Bernard Hesling made her sons (born in the 1900s) sign the "pledge" yearly ¹⁹⁴.

The issue of teetotalism by the early twentieth century was a platform which united many of the Free Church ministries ¹⁹⁵. It manifested itself in many guises, among which were the crusading Blue Ribbon and White Ribbon "armies", both founded in the 1870s ¹⁹⁶. In addition, the Band of Hope (founded in 1847, it regarded even moderate drinkers as sinners) had, by the end of the century, provided a social as well as spiritual life for its adherents, ¹⁹⁷. By 1901 this organisation had a membership of 426,041 among the Wesleyans - 93.6 per cent of the total Wesleyan membership of Great Britain ¹⁹⁸.

However, the temperance movement should not be regarded merely in the context of the Nonconformist movement. Nonconformity and secular "respectability" were linked together in this moral crusade. Rack argues that, along with issues such as gambling, dancing and the theatre (all of which also exercised the Nonconformist Conscience) the issue of drink may be viewed as a middle-class as much a Nonconformist target for elimination ¹⁹⁹. Such an assertion firmly endorses the connections made

by Best between "respectability" and morality, and affirms the importance attributed to the latter by Himmelfarb ²⁰⁰.

Indeed, examination of Methodist personal accounts revealed the existence of a strong temperance ethos in the middle class outside the Connexion, even at the beginning of the period of this study, embodied in the (non-churchgoing, nominally Anglican) family of missionary Thomas Waugh. Waugh (born 1853), a convert to Wesleyanism, became an abstainer through respect for his parents, who, themselves, were non-churchgoers²⁰¹.

Personal accounts have also revealed middle-class Methodists endeavouring to save their social inferiors from the ruin concomitant with drink. For instance, Blue Ribbon campaigner Mrs Lewis gave up "parties, excursions, and the ordinary rounds of social visits" to visit the homes of the intemperate poor during the 1880s ²⁰². In the next century, within the "rank-and-file", the domineering grandmother of Margaret Rhodes forced one of her gardeners to sign the pledge every Saturday before he went off to the pub after finishing work ²⁰³.

Moreover, in the latter half of the nineteenth century the "respectable" element of society at large used temperance as a means to inculcate the working-class child with its own middle-class culture, thus providing the upwardly mobile "respectable" working-class family with a means of not only inculcating the discipline of self-help, but also of isolating their children from undesirable pastimes and companions ²⁰⁴. The 1870 Education Act focused attention on day schools, and trained lecturers were sent into schools to lecture on "scientific" temperance. Competitions were organised for both teachers and children to produce propaganda; temperance examinations set; books, medals and other prizes awarded. In addition, publications, such as the book,

Morning Dewdrops (1853) by Mrs C L Balfour, and journals, like the *Band of Hope Review* (1857), all helped to promote a message of self-control, thrift, truthfulness, cleanliness and hard work among the children of the aspiring working-class family, virtues integral to the daily existence of the abstainer, virtues designed to bring both material and spiritual success in life ²⁰⁵.

During these years the grounds for condemnation of alcohol in both the Methodist (especially the Primitive Methodist) and the specialised non-denominational temperance press were numerous. In 1890 it was damned on religious grounds, the customers of the public-house being accused of using God's name "slightingly" and "irreverently". Moreover, intoxication desecrated the Sabbath ²⁰⁶. Drink was strongly linked with sin. A Methodist temperance manual of 1880 warned that the legacy of intemperance was a "tendency to vice", which could be passed down through the generations: "Nature no less forcefully than the Bible teaches us that the sins of the father are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation" ²⁰⁷. This connection between alcohol and wrongdoing was again affirmed by a *Band of Hope* publication of 1900 which pointed out the wider spiritual dangers inherent in alcohol: "...nothing is more certain that strong drink leads to all manner of temptation, and doubtless many follies and sins would never have been committed were it not for the fact that alcohol has first clouded the senses and inflamed the passions" ²⁰⁸.

Even the mention of alcohol in the Bible was questioned by the Methodist temperance manual of 1880, since it was impossible to prove that the "wine" mentioned was fermented ²⁰⁹. Such attempts to manipulate biblical reference in the cause of a moral campaign, one which enjoyed such strong support among the secular middle-class, upholds Himmelfarb's contention that morality was becoming a

substitute for, or even a form of religion during the Victorian era²¹⁰, a trait which was apparent within Connexional literature.

Although there was no overtly stated class bias, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries a class consciousness was implied in much of the Connexional criticism concerning alcohol. For example, the sins of the lower orders were particularly attributed to drink. The Methodist temperance manual designated alcohol as the major cause of crime: "...no intelligent person now doubts that at least nine-tenths of the offences against laws of the country are committed under the influence of drink" ²¹¹. This assertion was affirmed by a Wesleyan article of 1860: "It is under the influence of gin that the burglar and murderer become fitted for the task which they have undertaken" ²¹² (this specific condemnation of spirits may indicate an official Wesleyan allegiance to temperance rather than teetotalism at this time). More comprehensively, prostitution was blamed upon the "gin-shop" and "the beer-shop" in an article of 1869 in the *Temperance Spectator* ²¹³.

Articles in both the temperance and Connexional press condemned the money squandered on drink, again linking alcohol to poverty. The *Temperance Spectator* of 1859 estimated that about £30 million per annum was wasted on alcohol and tobacco, money which could be better spent on clothes and furniture ²¹⁴. But this estimate was modest in comparison to that put forward by a temperance paper of 1874, reported in the Connexional press, which claimed that the sum of £367,777,094 spent on drink for the four years ending 1861 had risen to £450,398,201 by the four ending 1869. The paper proceeded to claim that drink pauperised the country - in 1772 £1,720,316 was raised for the poor, now, a hundred years later, £12,381,278 was needed "for the same purposes". While the population had increased two and a half

times in this period, national income had swollen about six fold, and crime and pauperism increased seven fold ²¹⁵. This theme was still being pursued by the temperance press in 1920: "Add strong drink to poverty and get misery". This article then proceeded to calculate that, if abstention prevailed within the population, then each family of parents and three children would be £21 per annum better off ²¹⁶.

Official literature also emphasised the effects of alcohol upon family relationships (though, again, there was often an implied association with the poor). In 1877, in *Onward*, a Band of Hope publication, a poem depicted a wife "with grief-stamped brow, /Clasped hands and want-pinched features, shrinking from murderous blow" of a drunken husband ²¹⁷. A Connexional article of 1870 reported, "I have seen a man, peaceable when sober, kick down a kind, beseeching wife, with as much vengeance as he would kick a reptile out of his way. I have seen him thrash his poor little helpless children, and tear from their half-naked bodies their bits of clothes, to pawn for more drink"²¹⁸. The only mention of drunken violence among subject families was that of the Catholic father of James Flanagan, (his religion may have made such a disclosure palatable to the biographer), who, when drunk, was "furious and unscrupulous, his powerful physique making him the terror of all he met". Often, when under the influence of alcohol, he would drive his wife and children into the street, "a tattered shawl their only covering, and a doorstep their only shelter" ²¹⁹.

Even if the effects of drink did not manifest themselves in physical violence, it could cause harm to the family by neglect - a phenomenon which, again, often implied criticism of the working class. A Methodist article of 1925, specifically concerning slum-dwellers, condemned parents who abandoned their children to the streets while they frequented public houses, informing readers, "The elders can have

light and warmth inside the public house, and the children can play within the radius of its illumination" ²²⁰. However, neglect could manifest itself in other ways, for example, the economic consequences of the drinking habits of his father robbed Raymond Preston of the opportunity of a good education ²²¹.

Besides being a spiritual and social evil, alcohol was also a danger to health. In 1906 H B Kendall warned that, as a poison, alcohol, "ought to be shelved, and only used homoeopathically" ²²². Hazards to physical and mental health were frequently mentioned during the last decades of the nineteenth century, as ailments including apoplexy, paralysis and insanity were numbered among the effects of drink. A Methodist temperance manual contended that deaths among publicans were higher than any other profession ²²³. A Connexional article of 1875 quoted figures to show that in Cairo, where practically everyone was teetotal, there was only one insane person in every 30,714 inhabitants, in "comparatively sober" Spain (consumption of alcohol one gallon per head per year) there was one per 7,181, whereas in England (annual consumption of two and a half gallons per head) there were one in every 551 ²²⁴. In one of Joseph Ashworth's sermons addressed to the family he declared: "for nobody was so big a fool as a drunken man" ²²⁵.

There was even opposition to the use of alcohol for medicinal purposes. The *Temperance Mirror* of 1886 condemned its use in this way, pointing out the concomitant dangers of addiction in a story of a young girl, who was prescribed port by her doctor, and thus became alcohol-dependent. Here, not only was alcohol depicted as an especial danger to children, but addiction to it was portrayed as hereditary, as the heroine of the tale discovered that an aunt died through its effects, and so bravely decided never to marry and pass on the disease

to offspring of her own: "So sorrowing bitterly...I steeled myself to refuse the natural climax of girlhood, saw one who could have been my husband wed another, and kept on my own way alone" ²²⁶. Methodist personal accounts revealed refusal among the membership to accept alcohol as a medicine. The stalwart Methodist grandmother of Joseph Barlow Brooks rejected doctor's advice to take brandy, even during the last stages of her final illness ²²⁷.

During the First World War drinking was seen as a national problem. As Lloyd George declared, "We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink; and as far as I can see, the greatest of all these three foes is Drink" ²²⁸. Such opinions echoed those within Methodist Officialdom, as evidence indicates a hardening of attitudes towards alcohol within the Connexion during the hostilities. For instance, although there had been within the temperance movement a tension between moral persuasion (a stance upheld by Methodism and embodied in the Band of Hope Movement), and the sterner legislative approach initiated by the United Kingdom Alliance (founded in 1853)²²⁹, the Wesleyan Temperance Secretary, Henry Carter, who was appointed a member of the wartime government Central Control Board to deal with the Drink Problem, came to support state control. In addition, Turner argues that, by 1920, the official policy of the Methodist movement had also moved nearer this stance, as illustrated by the 1919 Wesleyan Conference support of Prohibition in the American form ²³⁰.

Indeed, during the hostilities, Connexional writings embodied support for tighter controls. An article of 1915 equated patriotism with abstinence, claiming that drink was retarding output of munitions, and announcing that the Wesleyan movement was to launch a campaign to follow the king's example of banishing strong drink from his household for the duration of the war ²³¹. Another article of the same year called for new

Temperance legislation, expressing the desire for the Licensing (Temporary Restrictions) Act of 1914 to become permanent ²³². Two years later there was voiced the need for state control of the purchase of alcohol, with the ability of localities to be able, by a majority of two-thirds, to eliminate the sale of drink from their areas ²³³.

Such calls for stringency not only indicate a failure to enforce abstinence, or even temperance, in the wider society, but also negate any assumptions of homogeneity in attitudes towards alcohol within the Methodism movement. Although it is difficult to estimate the scale of "non-conformism" to official policy amongst the membership, this research has revealed substantial evidence of a tolerance towards drinking, among Methodists of all social classes, even those from "ministerial" and "officer" families, for the whole period covered by this thesis. Consumption of alcohol within abstainers' families was evident. For instance, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century the Reverend George Macdonald, though himself an abstainer, who had published a pamphlet, "An Apology for the Disuse of Alcoholic Drink" in 1841, allowed his wife to brew beer at the Manse ²³⁴. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the devout middle-class Wesleyan Henry Gleaves, member of a "ministerial" dynasty and a teetotaller, tolerated others drinking ²³⁵. Some teetotallers abandoned their pledge of abstinence. Minister Leslie Weatherhead, although teetotal until middle age, then followed doctor's orders and took a glass of port after Sunday lunch ²³⁶.

Others outside Wesleyanism also evinced liberal attitudes. For instance, in the 1870s the middle-class Methodist New Connexion lay preacher (and abstainer) Cornelius Stovin recorded purchasing alcohol for the consumption of friends ²³⁷. An apparent toleration of drinking by others was detected in the next century in Greta Barker's mention of her

grocer uncle, a "good [Primitive] Methodist", who had no objection to keeping his shop open late on Christmas Eve so that customers from the local pub could call in on their way home ²³⁸. On the other hand, such behaviour may simply have been merely a manifestation of astute business practice.

Chapels could be divided on the subject of alcohol - the ministry and congregations finding themselves on opposite sides. After moving to Brighton from Dover in the 1870s Hugh Price Hughes found that his new congregation resented his position as a leading Temperance campaigner. For some members it proved "the last straw", and they insisted he confine his activities to chapel affairs ²³⁹. Similarly, early in the twentieth century, in the working-class Cradley chapel, attended by the young Cliff Willetts, lay preachers advocating abstinence were opposed by many attenders, who were "devout worshippers but not total abstainers", believing in the "occasional half pint" ²⁴⁰.

Moreover, at times, it was difficult to qualify or quantify alcohol consumption within subject families. Working-class "officer" Thomas Carter described his father as not a drinker, "although not an abstainer" ²⁴¹. Alcohol produced within the household was evidently not classified as an intoxicant by some, exemplified by one of Elizabeth Roberts' working-class "rank-and-file" Methodist subjects, who claimed her grandfather was teetotal, while admitting that he drank her mother's home-made wine ²⁴².

Furthermore, though some Methodists joined the temperance movement in adulthood, many Band of Hope members grew up to forget their pledge. Also, as Lilian Lewis Shiman points out, in many instances, while still in this organisation, the teetotal beliefs of these children did not seem to have an effect on the habits of their parents ²⁴³. But local

evidence indicated that decline in support for abstinence was not confined to the older members of the family. For example, the Band of Hope attached to the Wesleyan Sunday School, Stafford, was in "flourishing condition", having nearly 800 members in 1882, but membership had dwindled to 190 by 1905 ²⁴⁴. In 1907 Thomas Wright was concerned at the declining numbers attending the senior class at the Band of Hope at his chapel in Horwich, Lancashire. On the 12 December of that year only eight attended the meeting ²⁴⁵. Writing in the 1930s, William H Lax bemoaned the fact that drinking had become an increasingly fashionable pastime among the young of Poplar in London ²⁴⁶.

Conclusion

The influence of "respectable" opinion upon Methodist Officialdom was apparent in the Connexional endorsement of the increasing educational opportunities on offer to the young in the non-Methodist world, and its support for the moral crusades against gambling and alcohol (campaigns which also enjoyed the support of the wider Evangelical movement). Connexional pragmatism was evident in its increasing acceptance of tobacco. Also, expediency was shown in the Connexional post-1870 provision of middle-class schooling, a policy which highlighted Officialdom's acknowledgement of the rising social status of a significant element within the Methodist membership. Moreover, the support shown for "respectability's" opinions on educational opportunities, alcohol and gambling by subjects amongst all categories and social classes throughout the period of this study illustrates the influence of the wider society upon Methodism at a personal level. Even the wish of certain middle-class "officer" and "ministerial" families for their children to avoid contact with those outside the Connexion can be interpreted as being motivated as much by considerations of social

class as by any commitment to maintain a separate identity from the non-Methodist world.

Furthermore, any notions of Methodist families as a segregated homogeneous entity were undermined by other evidence which highlighted the heterogeneity of experience which existed amongst subjects of all categories and social classes. Such a diversity, which was informed by material and social forces, reflected that of the non-Methodist world. The impact of these agents in Methodists' lives was highlighted in the wide variance of formal education enjoyed by subjects, the ability to attain schooling being largely informed by gender and the family economy. Regarding play, though evidence was scant, the variety of toys encountered, as in the secular world, appeared to be dictated by financial circumstances. The Connexionally endorsed so-called work ethic (a phenomenon not unique to the Methodist movement), which was apparent amongst subjects from all categories and social backgrounds, was often motivated by material factors rather than religious belief.

Diversity was also manifested in the divergence of personal opinion from that of the Connexion, a trait which further illustrated the encroachment of wider societal influence upon Methodist family life. The permeation of secular taste into Connexional homes was illustrated by those (mainly middle-class) accounts which revealed that, throughout the period of this research, even within "ministerial" and "officer" homes, there existed a greater variety of reading matter than that sanctioned by the Connexion. In respect of alcohol, although many within the Connexion were "respectably" teetotal, the consumption of alcohol by subjects amongst all categories and social classes, or their tolerance of its consumption by others further affirmed the heterogeneity of Methodists' values and practices, the range of which reflected that of secular society.

Finally, this chapter has affirmed the relevance of the rural/urban divide to family life. An urban location containing suitable social contacts could offer Methodists the chance to integrate with secular society. On the other hand, the isolation of a rural family home could prove an obstacle to attaining a formal education.

This chapter has examined some of the dilemmas facing the youth of the Connexion as they matured into adulthood. But other challenges were also to arise as they reached maturity. As the young Methodist went out into the wider world, and began to turn his or her thoughts to the question of courtship and marriage, so another problem appeared - that of sexual morality.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Gregory, ed. op. cit. p.8.
Gregory was editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for the period 1868-1893 - see Rack, *World*, pp.5-10 for more details.
- ² For instance, £1 9s 6d was spent upon Smollett's *History*.
Macdonald, op. cit. p.15.
- ³ These figures only relate to the upper end of the market. The history of cheap literature began with the publication of Part Two of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, published in 1792, which was put out in a sixpenny edition of both parts.
Vincent, op. cit. pp.114-6.
- ⁴ Brown "Christian", p.59.
- ⁵ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. II (1878), p.315.
- ⁶ *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XVIII (1900), pp.142-3.
- ⁷ Michael Hennell, "Evangelicalism and Worldliness 1770-1870" in G C Cuming & Derek Baker, eds. *Popular Belief and Practice : Volume 8* (Cambridge 1972), p.233.
- ⁸ "What is the Harm of Novel-Reading?", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. I (1855), p.933.
- ⁹ A H Walker, "Culture and Religious Earnestness", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXVIII (1895), pp.824-5
The "New Woman" novels, were radical novels of the 1890s in which traditional female roles were challenged. For instance, in *Daughters of Danaus* the heroine, Hadria, objects to marriage on the grounds that "just as if two people, when they are beginning to form their characters, could possibly be sure of their sentiments for the rest of their days"
Mona Caird, *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894, New York, 1989 edition) (hereafter *Danaus*), p.61.
- ¹⁰ Bradley, op. cit. p.182.
- ¹¹ Bullock, op. cit. p.17.
- ¹² Rack, *World*, pp.39-40.
- ¹³ Gregory, ed. op. cit. pp.15, 124ff quoted in *ibid*, p.39.
- ¹⁴ Rack, *World*, pp.39-40.
- ¹⁵ Taylor, op. cit. p.19; Ashby, op. cit. pp.241-2; Peake, *Peake op. cit.* pp.43-4; Wilkinson, *Peake*, p.181; Lax, op. cit. pp.91-2; Carter, op. cit. p.10; Weatherhead, op. cit. p.24; D J Cock, *Every Other Inch a Methodist* (1987), p.5.
- ¹⁶ Thomas Hughes' creation, Brown, was described by the *Spectator* as, "Full of kindness, courage, vigour and fun - no great adept at Greek and Latin, but a first rate cricketer, climber and swimmer....and no means adverse to a good stand-up fight in a good cause....[his] piety is of that manly order...."
Spectator, 2 May 1857, p.477 quoted in J A Mangan, "Social Darwinism and Upper-Class education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England" in Mangan & Walvin, eds. op. cit. p.137.
See also Jeffrey Richards, "'Passing the love of women' : manly love and Victorian society" in Mangan & Walvin, eds. op. cit. pp.103-4.
- ¹⁷ After Tom had terminated his dalliance with a barmaid, he and Hardy were reconciled:

"Tom rushes across to his friend, dearer to him now, and threw his arm around his neck; and if the un-English truth must out, had three parts of a mind to kiss the rough face which now was working with strong emotion".

However, as J A Mangan points out, sensuality involving physical contact was channelled into "football mauls and emotional feeling into hero worship of the athletic 'blood'". Nevertheless, by the 1880s there was increasing concern about schoolboy friendships, and by 1900 many public schools forbade associations between boys of different forms or houses.

Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1889), pp.193-4 quoted in Richards, *op. cit.* p.105; J A Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge, 1981), p.186 quoted in Richards, *op. cit.* p.105; Richards, *op. cit.* p.111.

¹⁸ John Springhall, "Building Character in the British Boy : The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914" in Mangan & Walvin, eds. *op. cit.* p.63.

Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century, the third manifestation of manliness had taken the form of a cult of athleticism, and was defined by sporting ability and "team spirit". "'Fair Play' became the motto of a nation whose ideology and religious faith were subsumed into imperialism, with its belief in the British as the elect who had a God-given duty to govern and civilise the world"

Richards, *op. cit.* p.104.

¹⁹ Patrick Dunae, "British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire, 1880-1914", PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1975, p.239 quoted in Springhall, *op. cit.* p.65.

²⁰ They would eventually received a watered down version of the manliness ethos in Charles Hamilton stories in the weeklies, *The Gem* (1907) and *The Magnet* (1908).

However, Springhall believes it is untenable to argue that an ethos of Christian Manliness in any form would have percolated down to the "lumpenproletariat" via literature, or youth organisations. For in this lowest sector of society manliness "was to be reached through swaggering, brawling and the oblivion induced either by alcohol or violence". Christian manliness generally extended only to those of the working-class "already well predisposed - through parental encouragement, church attendance or ethos of "respectability" in which they were raised - to receive it"

Springhall, *op. cit.* p.70.

²¹ Entry for 11 Feb 1875 in Stovin, ed. *op. cit.* p.190.

²² The father could not afford boarding fees, so George, aged 12 and Leslie, aged eight boarded with one Miss Bishop. The boys had to purchase their own food: "We had, it is needless to say, no luxuries, and the diet was rather too capriciously selected, though, of course we had some guidance from home and definite instructions".

Wilkinson, Peake, p.11

²³ *Methodist Recorder*, 26 July 1861, p.138.

²⁴ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.104.

In fact, the 1870 Act was not welcomed by many of the educated working class, who resented the subservience inculcated in elementary schools. They criticised the curriculum for being insufficiently practical, and for having an all pervading religious and moralistic tone. If finances allowed, some of these parents continued to send their children to private establishments. In addition, many respectable artisans dreaded the prospect of their offspring mixing with "swarms of ragged, smelly, foul-mouthed pauper children...raked in from the gutter, the dunghill, and the hedgerow" in the new Board Schools, a problem which obliged the London School Board to enable segregation by providing a range of schools with a system of differential weekly fees.

Thompson, *Respectable*, *op. cit.* p.138.

²⁵ W K Greenland, ed. *Raymond Preston : British and Australian Evangelist - Life Story and Personal Reminiscences* (1930), p.25.

²⁶ Raymont, *op. cit.* p.5.

²⁷ The Church of England National Society for Promoting Education for the Poor was established in 1811. The Nonconformist British and Foreign School Society was established in 1808. The rivalry between the private and voluntary sector weakened the latter's capacity "to imprint their brand of godly and religious instruction on the minds and souls of their charges".
Thompson, *Respectable*, *op. cit.* pp.142-4,148.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p.151.

²⁹ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.76.

³⁰ Arch, *op. cit.* quoted in *ibid.* p.71.

³¹ Half timers were defined under the Factory Act of 1844 as working six hours per day.

Although the school leaving age was raised to 14 in 1899, exemptions were allowed for part-time working - under local bye-laws from the age of 11 for agriculture, and from 12 under the Factory Acts - provided that an adequate standard of literacy and numeracy had been achieved, or a required number of attendances had been recorded. With these provisions, total exemption was allowed at 13. In 1918 all exemptions ended.

Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.81, 151; Roberts, *Place*, pp.34-5.

³² Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London, Religious Influences Series 3* (1902), pp.2,54 quoted in Jones, "Working", p.479.

³³ This article appeared in relation to the report by the Parliamentary Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, which recommended total abolition of half-time schemes.

Preston Guardian, 7 August 1909 quoted in Roberts, *Place*, p.36.

³⁴ Roberts, *Place*, pp.36,51-3,199.

The theory of the so-called "work ethic" will be discussed later in this chapter.

³⁵ The statutory leaving age was 10 in 1876, and 11 in 1893. It was raised to 14 in 1899 with exemptions as mentioned above in footnote 31.

But even while attending school children could make financial contributions to the household. Typical occupations included selling newspapers, wrapping hairpins in paper, carding of hooks and eyes, and other tedious, fatiguing labour which would pay a few pence.

Both Vincent and Lynn Jamieson (the latter writing of the period 1890-1925) found little resentment among those children who were obliged to contribute to the family economy. Vincent found that any blame was attributed to economic circumstances or harshness of employers. Jamieson found that part-time and holiday work tended to be voluntary, and earnings (from this and also full time work) gave a feeling of pride and self worth.

Roberts, *Place*, pp.34-6,24; Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.69-70; Vincent, *op. cit.* p.82; Lynn Jamieson, "Limited Resources and Limiting Conventions : Working-Class Mothers and Daughters in Urban Scotland c. 1890-1925" in Lewis, ed. *op. cit.* p.58.

³⁶ Roberts, *Place*, pp.23-4.

Acknowledgement of this situation was embodied in the proliferation of "substitute mother" stories in working-class schoolgirls' papers in the 1920s, exemplified by an extract from the *Girls' Favourite* of 1922: "Looking back down the years, I can always see myself in the position of little 'mother'. It was my duty to look after my sisters when they were tiny tots, and I was frequently kept away from school to look after the children when mother, through illness or some other cause, was unable to do so herself" .

"The Hard Case of the Eldest Sister", *Girls' Favourite*, 18 November 1922, p.379 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.123.

See Chapter Two for further discussion of the subordination and exploitation of daughters within the family environment.

- ³⁷ James Walvin contends that, in spite of legislative attempts to control children's work in the countryside by, for example, the Gangs Act of 1867, and the 1873 Agricultural Act, it proved difficult to prosecute parents for not sending their children to school³⁸.
Magistrates who were often farmers themselves were sympathetic towards parents and the needs of families.
Walvin, *op. cit.* p.75.
- ³⁸ D A Warfield, *A Lively People : A Story of a Village Methodist Society 1746-1959* (1960), pp.79-83.
- ³⁹ Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* pp.48-50.
- ⁴⁰ Greenland, *op. cit.* p.31
- ⁴¹ Hesling, *op. cit.* pp.7-8,41,62-3.
- ⁴² Vickers, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ⁴³ Roberts, *Place*, p.26.
- ⁴⁴ Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.134.
- ⁴⁵ John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth : Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970) quoted in Hareven, *op. cit.* p.221.
- ⁴⁶ "Practical Papers : What is Education? And Does Education Lessen Crime?", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. V (1870), p.171.
- ⁴⁷ Lax, *op. cit.* p.34.
- ⁴⁸ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* 34.
- ⁴⁹ Richardson, *op. cit.* pp.13-4.
- ⁵⁰ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.103.
- ⁵¹ Duncan Crow, *The Edwardian Woman* (1978), p.184.
- ⁵² Boarding school fees varied widely. Frances Power Cobbe quoted £1000 for two years at a fashionable boarding school in Brighton in 1835. But Branca estimates the average at £135 per annum. Governesses cost an average of £20-£45 per annum. Branca, *op. cit.* p.46.
- ⁵³ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.26-7.
- ⁵⁴ In addition, ill-afforded boarding schools raised hopes to unrealistic levels, causing incompatibility between expectations and reality. Parents were warned to "think seriously of what may be the real position of their children, not encourage ambitious hopes which are never likely to be realised".
Economy for the Single and Married; or The Young Wife and Bachelor's Guide to Income and Expenditure on 50 Pounds Per Annum, 100 Pounds Per Annum, 150 Per Annum, 200 Pounds Per Annum; With Estimates Up to 5000 Pounds Per Annum (1845), p.44 quoted in Branca, *op. cit.* pp.23-4.
- ⁵⁵ Branca, *op. cit.* p.46.
- ⁵⁶ *Methodist Recorder*, 1 July 1861, p.350.
- ⁵⁷ "Higher Education for Women", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XVI (1870), p.705.
- ⁵⁸ Warfield, *op. cit.* pp.79-83.
- ⁵⁹ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.78.
- ⁶⁰ Chapman, *op. cit.* pp.173-4.

- ⁶¹ Entry in Ruth's diary for 20 April 1900 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.27. On leaving school Ruth worked in a packing job, later she found a job in an office.
- ⁶² McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.41.
- ⁶³ Rev. W L Watkinson, "Practical Papers : An Address to the Young Men of our Christian Associations", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. V (1870), p.267.
- ⁶⁴ Colwell, *op. cit.* p.28.
- ⁶⁵ F C Pritchard, "Education" in Davies, George & Rupp, eds. *MethIII*, p.295. The first Wesleyan day schools began in 1837. By 1857 there were 434 with an attendance of 52,630 pupils; by 1870 there were 743 with 128,809 scholars; by 1875 there were 910 with 170,000 scholars. Warfield, *op. cit.* p.80 ; Lidgett, *op. cit.* pp.16-7.
- ⁶⁶ Control of some Methodist day schools was transferred to the state. For example, that attached to the Wesley Place Sunday School at Tunstall, opened in the 1840s, was handed over to Wolstanton School Board in 1890. SRO, *Wesley Place Sunday School - Centenary Souvenir, 1799-1899* (1899), D3623/1/2 (hereafter *Wesley Place*).
- ⁶⁷ University of Bradford, package no.47, letter from Isaac Holden to S Hopkinson 25 June 1872, Sir Isaac Holden Collection of Business and Family Papers, c.1840-97 quoted in Jennings, *op. cit.* p.156.
- ⁶⁸ Pritchard, *op. cit.* p.295.
- ⁶⁹ Opposition centred upon single school areas where the school was Anglican; also, there were objections to religious tests for staff. Turner, "Methodism", pp.350-1.
- ⁷⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IX (1910), p.45.
- ⁷¹ Rack, "Wesleyan", p.151.
- ⁷² C E Lee, "Perks, Sir Robert William 1849-1934), solicitor and railway director" in D J Jeremy, ed. *Dictionary of Business Biography : A Biographical Dictionary of Business leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860-1980* (1985), IV, p.628; Jackson, *op. cit.* p.7; H M Hyde, *Norman Birkett : The Life of Lord Birkett of Ulverston* (1964, 2nd edition 1965), p.11; Airey, *op. cit.* p.73.
- ⁷³ John Benson, *The Working Class in Britain, 1850-1939* (1989), p.55; Branca, *op. cit.* p.25.
- ⁷⁴ Musgrove defines lower-middle class annual incomes as £60-200, middle-middle class as £200-£1000, and upper-middle class as £1000+. He emphasises the difficulty in accurately ascertaining numbers of middle class in receipt of particular incomes from income tax returns. Difficulties arise because many people, who were in receipt of money from more than one source, were represented by more than one Schedule. In addition, many lower middle-class incomes fell below assessment level. Nevertheless, Bowley's analysis of returns in conjunction with other evidence indicates the most rapidly expanding part of this sector of society in these three decades was the lower middle class - the 81.7 percent of incomes assessed lying in the £150-£500 per annum range in 1851 rose to 85.9 percent in 1879-80, but there was a fall in the average income from £820 to £550. Thereafter, to 1910 the class grew uniformly throughout. But even so, many middle-middle class professions, such as the law, medicine and clergy, did not expand proportionately. In fact, between 1881 and 1911 the proportions of clergy and lawyers per one million of the population aged 10 and upwards declined from 1,734 to 1,418, and 901 to 750 respectively. The proportion of doctors only rose from 783 to 878. These figures contrast sharply with a sector in the lower echelon of the class, that of commercial clerks, which expanded from 9,399 to 16,744 .

Musgrove, *op. cit.* pp.99,105; A L Bowley, *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860* (1937) p.128 quoted in *ibid.* p.103-4.

⁷⁵ Its membership encompassing successful businessmen through shopkeepers, farmers, clerks, foremen to the unskilled working class.
Turner, "Methodism", pp.329-31.

⁷⁶ Primitive Methodists were more closely identified with proletarian groups than the Wesleyans, but at mid-nineteenth century, as in the Wesleyan Connexion, skilled rather than unskilled working class predominated within this Connexion. For, although in some areas the unskilled worker played a major role in the Primitive Methodist chapel, as in part of Lincolnshire where 51 percent of identified lay preachers were agricultural labourers, a national sample taken during the first third of the century indicated that 48 percent of members were artisans.

James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society : South Lindsey, 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), p.239 quoted in Bebbington, *op. cit.* p.111; Gilbert, *op. cit.* p.63 quoted in Bebbington, *op. cit.* p.111.

⁷⁷ The social categories used are based upon a modified version of the Registrar-General's 1951 schema.

Field, *op. cit.* pp.204-6.

See also Appendices IX and X.

⁷⁸ Such donations might be cynically interpreted as self-promotion or a desire on the part of the wealthy to attain influence within the movement. On the other hand, such generosity may merely have been indicative of a strong spiritual affiliation to the movement amongst those who had enjoyed financial success.

⁷⁹ William Hartley's benefactions included the foundation of the Chapel Association in 1890. He also provided £17,500 towards the cost of Holborn Town Hall, which came the central headquarters and publishing house of Primitive Methodism.

In the period 1800-60 there were no fewer than 82 chapel building and enlargement programmes in Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Walsall and Dudley, many of which were fostered by generous donations of other wealthy members, such as the £1000 donated by John Hartley for the building of Trinity Chapel, Wolverhampton in 1853. In the Deerness Valley, County Durham, financial support was forthcoming from colliery owners, some of whom, such as Ferens and Love, were prominent in the Methodist movement, the latter having donated more than £12,000 towards chapels by 1871. Similarly, in Bowers Row in Yorkshire the "lord of the Manor", Sir Charles Lowther, donated land for a chapel to be built in the 1870s.

G E Milburn, "Big Business and Denominational Development in Methodism during the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century", *Epworth Review*, X, 3 (1983), pp.33-41; Roger Leese, "The Impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1740-1860 (unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester, 1972), p.116; A C Pratt, *Black Country Methodism* (1891), p.62; Moore, *Pit-Men*, p.81; Bullock, *op. cit.* p.119.

⁸⁰ He promised a £50 donation towards building each London chapel on condition it was not built in the Gothic style, and a further £50 on condition the trust deed excluded the use of the Liturgy.

However, the finance needed for the chapel building programme was also provided by Connexional funding. The (Wesleyan) Metropolitan Chapel Building fund (which was instituted by Sir Francis Lycett in 1861, and received donations from generous benefactors, such as Holden), for instance, built 78 chapels in 20 years, mainly to accommodate the middle classes who had moved out of the city centre into the suburbs.

Jennings, *op. cit.* pp.117-26; Rack, "Wesleyan", p.130

⁸¹ His will included legacies of £1000 to each of the Wesleyan Foreign Missions and the Wesleyan Worn out and Aged Ministers' Fund.
Airey *op. cit.* p.90.

⁸² Burnett, *Rank*, p.90.

- ⁸³ Frank Musgrove, "Middle-Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century", *Economic History Review*, 12 (1959-60), p.100; *Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission*, (1868), IX, p.497 et seq quoted in *ibid.* p.111.
- ⁸⁴ Burnett, *Rank*, p.114.
- ⁸⁵ From the 1850s the old universities began to admit non-Anglicans, in addition, new ones were being built.
Rack, "Wesleyan", p.150.
- ⁸⁶ Benjamin Gregory, *Side Lights 1827-1852*, p.288 quoted in *ibid.* p.150
- ⁸⁷ Rack, "Wesleyan", p.151.
- ⁸⁸ E T Fowler, *The Farringtons* (1900) (hereafter *Farringtons*), p.77.
- ⁸⁹ This dearth of evidence might be partly due to the self-selectivity of the auto/biographies - namely, having been chosen for this study because their subjects were loyal Methodists in later life.
- ⁹⁰ Lee, *op. cit.* 628.
- ⁹¹ Peake, *Peake*, pp.48-50.
- ⁹² Wakefield, *op. cit.* pp.11-2.
- ⁹³ Ronald Gould, *Chalk Up the Memory* (1976), p.19.
- ⁹⁴ Raymont, *op. cit.* pp.5-8.
F W Robertson, a Brighton preacher, stated in one sermon that "we have learned to smile" at the idea of a "bodily hell", and that "in bodily intolerable torture we believe no longer" quoted in F W Farrar, *Mercy and Judgement : A Last few Words on Christian Eschatology with Reference to Dr Pusey's 'What is Faith'* (1881), p.31 quoted in Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.187.
For further discussion of eschatology see Chapter Five.
- ⁹⁵ "Women's Friendships", *Saturday Review* 18 (1864), 176-7 quoted in Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.41.
- ⁹⁶ Cheltenham Ladies College was originally founded as a day school in 1853. It became the first girls' public school in 1858 under the headship of Dorothea Beale.
Crow, *op. cit.* pp.184-7.
- ⁹⁷ Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.26.
- ⁹⁸ He emphasises the importance of the emergence of women's special roles as social workers in city missions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To meet the needs of such institutions Deaconess Orders were founded. For instance, after the 1902 union of the United Methodist Free Churches with the Wesleyans, Orders from within these two divisions were combined to form the Wesley Deaconess Order, which was centred at the College at Ilkley.
Pritchard, *op. cit.* pp.290,291,299,302-3.
See footnote 123 in Chapter Two for further details of city missions and the Forward Movement.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p.37.
Dr John Gregory, feared that reading might interfere with the development of natural womanhood: "I want to know what Nature has made you and to perfect you on her plan".
John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* quoted in *ibid.* p.37. This book was originally published in 1744, but was reprinted as late as 1877.
- ¹⁰⁰ Burstyn, *op. cit.* pp.43,87-90.
- ¹⁰¹ Sarah Ellis, *Education of the Heart* (1869), p.15 quoted in *ibid.* p.49

¹⁰² Anthony Trollope, *North America* (1862), I, p.403 quoted in Burstyn, *op. cit.* pp.51-2.

¹⁰³ "Review of Principles of Education and Women's Mission", *Quarterly Review*, 119 (1866), p.510 quoted in Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.43.

In addition, there was the belief that intellectual stimulus, for example, the learning of a foreign language, might distract women from their duties as homemaker. According to the *Christian Observer* of 1886: "To know something of herself, to love her Bible, and to love God, are worth all the languages of Babel : which in after-life often serve no better purpose than to make girls useless".

Editor's note, On the Education of Girls" in the *Christian Observer* (1886), p.94 quoted in Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.108.

¹⁰⁴ Figures taken from Alice M Gordon, "After-Careers of University Educated Women", *Nineteenth Century*, p.27 (1895) quoted in Philippa Levine, "'So Few prizes and So Many Blanks' : Marriage and Feminism in Later Nineteenth-century England", *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (2) (hereafter "So"), pp.161-2.

Levine asserts that these findings, "do not lead one to the conclusion that marriage is either desired or attained by the majority of very highly educated women". Indeed, spinsterhood may have been a matter of choice, for as unmarried Hellenic scholar and fellow of Newnham, Jane Harrison, contended, "Marriage, for a woman at least, hampers the two things that made life to me glorious - friendship and learning" J E Harrison, *Reminiscences of a Student Life* (1925), p.88 quoted in Levine, "So", p.162.

¹⁰⁵ Dyhouse, "Mothers", p.37.

It was not until 1925 and 1947 respectively, that Oxford and Cambridge admitted women to the full privileges of the universities.

Tinkler found that the image of freedom from the constraints of femininity depicted in some 1920s boarding school fiction life contradicted former pupils' reminiscences, which described pupils as "bound like spiders".

The trend to introduce games into girls' schools was resisted by some, including Dorothea Beale. Thus the "men's sport" of hockey was not played at Cheltenham until 1890.

Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.101; Judith Okley, "Privileged Schooled and Finished : Boarding School Education for Girls" in S Ardener, ed. *Defining Females : The Nature of Women in Society* (New York, 1978), p.126 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.87; Crow, *op. cit.* p.188.

¹⁰⁶ Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story* (1914), quoted in J H Murray, *Strong-Minded Women and Other Lost Voices from Nineteenth Century England* (New York, 1982), p.107 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.20.

Even Molly Hughes, who was fortunate to attend the pioneering North London Collegiate School under Frances Buss, clearly regarded her own schooling as inferior to that received by her brothers at Shrewsbury and Merchant Taylor's. M V Hughes, *A London Child of the 1870s* (Oxford, 1977), p.41 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.19.

¹⁰⁷ For instance, an advertisement in the *Methodist Recorder*, 7 Jan 1926 p.23 for the Hyatt College for girls offered "music, singing, French and elocution".

¹⁰⁸ *Methodist Recorder*, 1 Aug 1929, p.26.

¹⁰⁹ Perkins, *op. cit.* pp.3-4.

¹¹⁰ Michael Bywater, "Stamp, Joseph Josiah Charles, 1st Lord Stamp of Shortlands (1880-1941) : Statistician and Railway Company Chairman", in D J Jeremy ed. *Dictionary of Business Biography : Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860-1980*, V (1886), p.270.

¹¹¹ Kenneth Lindsay, *Social progress and Educational Waste : Being a Study of the 'Free Place' and Scholarship Systems* (1926), p.11 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.24.

¹¹² Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.204.

¹¹³ Barker, *Bucks*, p.48.

- ¹¹⁴ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.102.
- ¹¹⁵ For instance, Olive Marsh married Josiah Stamp in 1903, and Ruth Slate, married her husband, Hugh, in 1918.
Bywater, *op. cit.* p.270; Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.308.
- ¹¹⁶ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930) quoted in Cotgrove, *op. cit.* p.122.
Similarly, Weber contends that John Wesley encouraged a type of asceticism conducive to the accumulation of wealth.
Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930) quoted in Rack, *Reasonable*, pp.365-6.
- ¹¹⁷ Erich Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom* (1960 edition), p.80 quoted in E P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963, 1980 edition) (hereafter *Making*), p.393
In presenting these ideas Thompson acknowledges that work-discipline was not limited to Methodism.
- ¹¹⁸ Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835), pp.423-5 quoted in Thompson, *Making*, p.398.
- ¹¹⁹ Thompson, *Making*, p.401.
- ¹²⁰ "The Use of Money", first preached in 1744, published 1760.
Sermon L in R G Green, *Works of John and Charles Wesley*, VI (1895) quoted in Rack, *Reasonable*, p.366.
- ¹²¹ Wesley condemned bill-broking, usury and other tools of the ruthless competitive entrepreneur.
Rack, *Reasonable*, p.366.
- ¹²² Indeed, as early as 1760 Wesley, recognising the rise in wealth among the movement, began to lament the damage this did to souls.
Ibid.
- ¹²³ Pratt, *op. cit.* pp.40-2.
- ¹²⁴ "Lazy Boys", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Magazine*, I (1857), p.275.
- ¹²⁵ "Life as Seen from the Pillow : An Address to Young Men", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXVIII (1895), p.474.
- ¹²⁶ "Climbing", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IX (1910), p.400.
- ¹²⁷ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 153 (1930), p.429.
- ¹²⁸ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.9-10.
- ¹²⁹ Airey, *op. cit.* p.39.
- ¹³⁰ Chapman, *op. cit.* p.48.
- ¹³¹ Mr ClP p.70 in "Transcripts" .
- ¹³² McCarthy, *op. cit.* pp.35-7.
- ¹³³ Ashby, *op. cit.* p.227.
- ¹³⁴ Hyde, *op. cit.* pp.21-3.
- ¹³⁵ Entries for the years 1917-21 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹³⁶ "Worldly Amusements in Christian Families", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. I (1855), p.337.
- ¹³⁷ Coley, *op. cit.* p.151.

- ¹³⁸ The value of toy exports grew from £46,825 in 1853 to £98,028 in 1870. By the 1870s Edwards' doll factory in the Waterloo Road was manufacturing thousands of dolls per week; Sanderson's factory in Oxford Street was producing 10,000 models per annum. Advertising gimmicks included the free sheets of model theatre figure characters which were given out with inaugural issues of *Boys in England*. Trade magazines included the *Fancy Goods* and *Toy Trades Journal* which was founded in 1891.
Brown, *Toy*, op. cit. pp.48-61
- ¹³⁹ Walvin, op. cit. pp.96-7.
- ¹⁴⁰ B S Rowntree and May Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives : A Study of the Labour Problem* (1913), pp.312-3 quoted in Brown, *Toy*, pp.59-60.
- ¹⁴¹ J Paget, "Recreation", *Nineteenth Century*, 14 (December 1883), p.985 quoted in Brown, *Toy*, p.54.
- ¹⁴² Brown, *Toy*, p.54.
- ¹⁴³ Richardson, op. cit. p.15.
- ¹⁴⁴ Willetts, op. cit. I p.17; Richardson, op. cit. p.15.
- ¹⁴⁵ Willetts, op. cit. I p.17.
- ¹⁴⁶ Bullock, op. cit. pp.73-4.
- ¹⁴⁷ Lidgett, op. cit. p.21.
- ¹⁴⁸ Brooks, op. cit. I p.59.
- ¹⁴⁹ Taylor, op. cit. p.15
- ¹⁵⁰ Macdonald, op. cit. p.6.
- ¹⁵¹ Vickers, op. cit. p.10.
- ¹⁵² Willey, op. cit. pp.38-9.
- ¹⁵³ JRL, J H James, *The Guide of Youth : A Sermon to the Young* (1844), MAW Pa 1844.7, pp.7-8.
- ¹⁵⁴ JRL, Rev. Ishmael Jones, *A Sermon Preached at the Wesleyan Chapel, Red Hill, On Sunday, February 22nd, 1874, On the Occasion of the Death of Mrs James Duncan* (1874), MAW Pa 1874.17, p.20.
- ¹⁵⁵ Waugh, op. cit. pp.38-9.
- ¹⁵⁶ Lax, op. cit. p.97.
- ¹⁵⁷ Taylor, op. cit. pp.57-9.
- ¹⁵⁸ The relatively smaller size of the sections devoted to gambling, and the use of tobacco in comparison to that relating to drink reflects the greater space devoted to commentary on temperance found within the Connexional press and the Methodist personal accounts.
- ¹⁵⁹ "Boys and Betting", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXVIII (1895), p.69.
- ¹⁶⁰ Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter : Popular Gambling and English Society c.1823-1961* (Manchester, 1992), pp.20,30.
- ¹⁶¹ Rev. C H Gough, "Amusements", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. XI (1885), p.285.

¹⁶² James Greenwood, *The Seven Curses of London* (1869), p.377 quoted in Jones, "Working", p.476.

The two major sporting papers were the *Sporting Chronicle*, begun by Edward Hutton and his business partner, Bleakley, in Manchester in 1871, which had an estimated daily readership of 30,000 in 1883, and the *Sporting Life* (estimated circulation of 150,000), purchased by Hutton in 1885. In addition, in the first decades of the twentieth century tipster information was supplied in many of the mainstream daily newspapers, such as that provided by Robin Good Fellow in the *Daily Mail* and by "Arrow" in the *Daily Mirror*. The dissemination of gambling information from the 1860s onwards was facilitated by the adaptation of the telegraph to the transmission of racing and betting news, thus now there could be a national average collated from the starting-price odds which now largely replaced the individual offerings of off-course bookmakers. Clapson, *op. cit.* pp.29-9,38.

¹⁶³ Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil* (1845, 1986 edition), p.6 quoted in Clapson, *op. cit.* p.18.

¹⁶⁴ This Act aimed to insulate the elite from the temptation of gambling, since its jurisdiction was intended to stretch to discouraging the most venal speculation on the Stock Exchange. Clapson, *op. cit.* p.19.

¹⁶⁵ This was ready money betting, the basis of mass betting - as opposed to the traditional sidestake wagering. The Act made it an offence to resort to any place or persons for the purpose of betting or bookmaking. Manchester Police Returns for the 1840s and 50s show that clients at these betting shops were mostly working-class, drawn for the most part from textile mills. *Ibid.* pp.22-3.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.24.

¹⁶⁷ SC(Lords)102, Report, para. 20,457 quoted in *ibid.* p.24.

¹⁶⁸ Most of whom, John Benson asserts, "probably began their career by organising sweepstakes on big races such as the Oaks or the Derby, going on to run a regular 'book' during their lunch hour". John Benson, *The Penny Capitalists* (1993), p.75 quoted in Clapson, *op. cit.* p.27.

¹⁶⁹ Mr ClP in "Transcripts", p.56; Mrs B2P in "Transcripts", p.3.

¹⁷⁰ Rank evidently did not watch the races, but would drive his wife over to Epsom for the Derby and wait for her in the car. Also, when his son's horse ran in an important race he liked to be told the result. Burnett, *Rank*, pp.194-5.

¹⁷¹ John Ashworth, "Young Men, Husbands and Fathers" in Calman, *op. cit.* p.320. As previously stated in footnote 214 in Chapter Two, Ashworth's lectures are not dated, but it is assumed that they dated from the 1860s and early 1870s.

¹⁷² "The Tobacco Question", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. XIII (1875), p.423.

¹⁷³ "Temperance Section : Tobacco", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. III (1865), p.294.

¹⁷⁴ "The Tobacco Question", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. XIII (1875), p.424.

¹⁷⁵ "Temperance Section : Tobacco", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. III (1865), p.295.

¹⁷⁶ Brooks, *op. cit.* I p.27.

¹⁷⁷ For example, throughout 1919 he recorded a weekly expenditure of 11d on cigarettes.

- ¹⁷⁸ "The Use and Abuse of Tobacco", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IV (1860), p.252.
- ¹⁷⁹ For instance, an advertisement for Player's "Navy" Mixture on 5 Jan 1922 in the *Methodist Recorder*, p.24.
- ¹⁸⁰ L L Shiman, "'Changes are Dangerous' : Women and Temperance in Victorian England" in Gail Malmgreen, ed. *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930* (1989) (hereafter "Changes"), p.195.
- ¹⁸¹ For example, a minute of the 1832 Primitive Methodist Conference was passed approving temperance societies and recommending them to the attention of the membership. At a local level a teetotal society was formed at a Wesleyan chapel in Grantham in 1837.
For further details see R W Ambler, "Social Change and Religious Experience : Aspects of Rural Society in S Lincs with Specific Reference to Primitive Methodism 1815-75" (unpublished PhD thesis University of Hull, 1984), pp.371-7.
- ¹⁸² Freeman, *op. cit.* p.60.
- ¹⁸³ Warfield, *op. cit.* p.75.
- ¹⁸⁴ S S Davies, *Wesley Chapel, Dudley, 1829-1929 : A Centenary Souvenir* (1929).
- ¹⁸⁵ Abstinence was resisted by many Wesleyans well into the nineteenth century. In 1875 the Wesleyan Temperance Committee allowed for moderate drinkers as well as abstainers. But teetotalism gained support with succeeding generations, reaching a peak at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.
Rack, "Wesleyan", p.144.
- ¹⁸⁶ Peake was also Vice-President of Manchester, Salford and District Temperance Society, and also Vice-President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Temperance Union.
Peake, Peake, p.308.
- ¹⁸⁷ Burnett, Rank, p.155.
- ¹⁸⁸ Thompson, Peter, pp.55-66.
- ¹⁸⁹ Willey, *op. cit.* p.75.
- ¹⁹⁰ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.56-7.
- ¹⁹¹ Speech at the meeting of the Oxford Blue Ribbon Club reported in the *Joyful News*, 8 March 1883, p.1 quoted in Oldstone-Moore, *op. cit.* p.31.
- ¹⁹² "Temperance : Individual Relations", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1885), p.86.
- ¹⁹³ West, *op. cit.* p.125.
- ¹⁹⁴ Hesling, *op. cit.* p.11.
- ¹⁹⁵ Turner, "Methodism", pp.353-4.
- ¹⁹⁶ Shiman, "Changes", pp.200-2.
- ¹⁹⁷ L L Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement : Respectable Recreation for Working-Class Children", *Victorian Studies*, XVII (1) (September 1973) (hereafter "Band"), pp.71-3.
- ¹⁹⁸ Turner, "Methodism", p.354. The percentage was calculated by using Turner's figure in conjunction with the total Wesleyan membership of Great Britain, 454,982, specified in Rack, "Wesleyan", p.123.
- ¹⁹⁹ Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.144-5.

- ²⁰⁰ See Chapters One and Two for further discussion of this opinion.
- ²⁰¹ Thomas Waugh, *Twenty Three Years a Missioner : Life Sketch Lessons and Reminiscences* (n. d.), pp.30-2.
- ²⁰² Moss, *op. cit.* p.31.
- ²⁰³ Rhodes, *op. cit.* p.27.
- ²⁰⁴ Shiman, "Band", p.50.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* pp.60-5.
- ²⁰⁶ J Wilkinson, "Drink versus Decalogue", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XII (1890), pp.589-90.
- ²⁰⁷ Rev. William Spiers, *The Methodist Temperance Manual : A Handbook for Temperance Workers and Band of Hope Conductors* (c.1880) (hereafter *Temperance*), pp.200-1.
- ²⁰⁸ W N Edwards, *Notes of One Hundred Black-board Addresses for all Ages* (c.1900), p.11.
- ²⁰⁹ Spiers, *Temperance*, p.217.
- ²¹⁰ For further discussion see Chapters One and Two.
- ²¹¹ Spiers, *Temperance*, p.197.
- ²¹² "The Use and Abuse of Tobacco", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, IV (1860), p.253.
- ²¹³ "Crime, Civilization, and Strong Drink", *Temperance Spectator*, I (1859), p.130.
- ²¹⁴ "The Condition of the English Workman, and how to improve it", *Temperance Spectator*, I (1859), pp.145-6.
- ²¹⁵ Rev. J Ferguson, "A Paper read at the West Midland Temperance League Conference, held at Tunstall, Monday, Feb 9, 1874", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. XIII (1875), p.522.
- ²¹⁶ Rev. R C Gillie, *Little Talks on Temperance* (c.1920), pp.80-4.
- ²¹⁷ E C A Allen, "Broken Vows", *Onward : A Magazine for Family Reading and Organ of the Band of Hope Movement*, III (1877), p.115.
- ²¹⁸ Dr Henry Munroe, "Temperance Department : Some of the Effects of Alcohol", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VIII (1870), p.411.
- ²¹⁹ Crane, *op. cit.* pp.19-20.
- ²²⁰ Rev. J E Thorp, "How the Other Half Lives : In a Slum", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1925), p.161.
- ²²¹ Greenland, *op. cit.* pp.20-1.
- ²²² H B Kendall, *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church : Volume I* (1906), p.400.
- ²²³ According to Sir B W Richardson, for every 1000 males of the age of 25 in the general population who died each year 147 were publicans, for those of the age of 35 who died 157 were publicans. Looking at the annual death rates of all males who died: 12 per 1000 were farmers, 15 were weavers, 20 were miners, 23 were butchers and 28 were publicans.
Spiers, *op. cit.* pp.187-8.
- ²²⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.* p.466.

- ²²⁵ John Ashworth, "Young Men, Husbands, and Fathers" in Calman, *op. cit.* p.32.
- ²²⁶ Mrs Alice Price, "An Old Maid's Tale", *The Temperance Mirror : An Illustrated Magazine for the Home Circle*, (1886), p.197.
- ²²⁷ Brooks, *op. cit.* I p.34.
- ²²⁸ *The Times*, 30 March 1915 quoted in Henry Carter, *The Control of the Drink Trade : A Contribution to National Efficiency, 1915-1917* (1918) quoted in Turner, "Methodism", *op. cit.* p.354.
- ²²⁹ Turner, "Methodism", pp.353-4.
- ²³⁰ *Wesleyan Methodist Minutes* (1919), p.60 quoted in Turner, "Methodism", *op. cit.* p.355.
In addition, Carter supported the licensing bills of 1921 (which restricted drinking hours) and 1923 (restricting sale of drink to those over 18 years of age).
Turner, "Methodism", p.355.
- ²³¹ Alfred Sharp, "The Drink Problem in the Light of the Great War", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXXXVII (1) (1915), pp.346-7.
- ²³² W R Wilkinson, "New Temperance Legislation Wanted", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIV (1915), p.274.
- ²³³ Prof. A S Peake, "When Peace Comes", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1917), p.178.
However, Turner contends, "The legislative harvest of the Temperance Movement was meagre", a factor, which, he suggests, may have been a reflection of the increasing inability of Nonconformity to impose its standards upon the Liberal Party, a phenomenon illustrative of the disintegrating bond between the two institutions, a bond which had existed since the latter half of the nineteenth century.
Turner, "Methodism", p.355.
- ²³⁴ In addition, not all of the Macdonald children grew up to be abstainers - for instance, Agnes and Louisa were not.
Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.10-1.
- ²³⁵ Burgess, *op. cit.* 68.
- ²³⁶ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.18.
- ²³⁷ An entry in his diary for 11 March 1875 recorded the purchase of "1 bottle of rum, 1 of gin, and a dozen beer" for friends.
Stovin, ed. *op. cit.* p.205.
- ²³⁸ Barker, *Bucks*, p.49.
- ²³⁹ Hughes, *op. cit.* p.104.
- ²⁴⁰ Willetts, *op. cit.* II pp.5-6.
- ²⁴¹ Carter, *op. cit.* p.5.
- ²⁴² Mrs P2B p.30 in "Transcripts".
- ²⁴³ Shiman, "Band", 71-3.
- ²⁴⁴ Baxter, *op. cit.* p.31.
- ²⁴⁵ Entry for 9 Dec 1907 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ²⁴⁶ Lax, *op. cit.* p.185.

Chapter Four

"...let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband"

This chapter examines those values and attitudes towards matrimony and its related issues which existed within the Connexion. In its examination of sexual morality, courtship and marriage, assessment will be made of the degree to which, throughout the period of this research, the attitudes of the Connexion, its membership and wider "respectable" society accorded, or otherwise, with each other in respect of gender and social class. Moreover, the influence of local secular community-based customs upon Methodist family life will be investigated in order to determine the extent to which the heterogeneous experience of non-Methodist families was reflected within Connexional homes. In addition, the possible relevance of the rural/urban divide to Methodists' experience will be explored.

Continuing the theme of temptations of the flesh, this chapter begins by investigating the standards of sexual morality expected of the young Methodist as he or she embarked upon the search for a future spouse. Regarding the discussion of sexual issues, personal standards of conduct, and aspects of gender differentiation in relation to sexuality, the attitudes of the wider "respectable" society will be assessed in the light of Methodist opinion, at both a personal and official level.

Secondly, various aspects of courtship and matrimony will be explored. "Respectable" and Connexional promulgations concerning the length of courtship and the desirability, or otherwise, of marriage,

will be compared with the behaviour of Methodists of all categories and social classes throughout the period researched.

Into the twentieth century Methodist Officialdom gave advice on the criteria to be employed in selecting a spouse, covering aspects of physical appearance, intellectual ability, social class, and spiritual values. Paucity of evidence prevents any comprehensive evaluation of the physical attributes or intellectual abilities of chosen partners. However, an assessment will be made of the extent to which, throughout the years covered by this study, the Methodist membership within all categories and social classes acted in accordance with Connexional advice concerning the social and religious background of potential spouses. Such an evaluation will take place in the light of contemporary trends in the wider world, as will the examination of the nature of Methodists' nuptial celebrations.

Finally, Connexional and "respectable" promulgations regarding the nature of spousal roles will be examined, particularly in respect of the gender differentiation inherent in the "balance of power" between husband and wife. The extent to which, throughout the period of this study, Methodists of all categories across the social spectrum accorded with such pronouncements will be assessed in the light of their adaptation to the prevailing practices within both their local secular communities and society at large. The heterogeneity of Methodist experiences will be further investigated in the context of the legislative changes taking place in the latter decades of the nineteenth century which enabled the empowerment of women.

Issues related to Sexual Conduct

Within secular society, one of the pillars of family respectability was the adoption of the prevailing "respectable" sexual ideology, which, in the second half of the nineteenth century, in its most extreme form, confined sexual activity within marriage and solely to the propagation of the race ¹. Industry and continence in sexual activity were seen to be correlative and complementary virtues. Although there was no evidence overtly presented amongst Methodist personal accounts, the addiction to work exhibited by many subjects could, possibly, have been inspired by a similar determination to divert the mind from temptations of the flesh ².

Sermons on the "mastery over sin", namely, masturbation, were reinforced by the medical profession. For instance, Sir William Acton insisted that such practices led to blindness, mental decay, feeble offspring and early death. J H Plumb asserts that, "the Victorian boy was suddenly infused with lustful energy of adolescence, feelings of guilt flooded in with equal intensity" ³. Moreover, Sally Mitchell sees the deathbed scenes of young women dying of unrequited love in mid-nineteenth century Penny Weeklies as a means of suppressing physical desires in young female readers ⁴.

One aspect of sexual morality particularly pertinent to the home was that of incest, a subject which frequently exercised the minds of the nineteenth century secular social observer. The perceived potential for evil in relationships between siblings, and also between parents and children, especially within the lower orders, was embodied in the Victorian middle-class sensitivity towards this subject ⁵. It was too

scandalous a subject to be aired in public. Often euphemisms were employed; it was introduced in debates on the 1903 Bill in Parliament as this "rather unpleasant subject" ⁶. Even the medical profession was reticent: "There are things 'done in secret'....which should not be so much as named in public" ⁷. Indeed, as Anthony Wohl asserts, to admit the existence of incest in overcrowded slums would have brought into question the whole social system ⁸.

The scarcity of Connexional literature on this topic suggests that Methodist Officialdom shared this reticence. However, a story in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* of 1925 did encroach upon this sensitive area, an instance, perhaps, where fiction was judged as better fitted to deal with taboo subjects. Inherent in this tale was an association between the potential for incest and the dissolute lower orders, an element which directly linked Connexional opinion with that of secular "respectability". The account related how working-class Effie Macqueen, the daughter of a neglectful mother and drunken father, was obliged to share a bedroom with her four brothers in their dirty home. On leaving school she performed well in her job as a seamstress in a prestigious firm, and was impressed by the habits of her workmates. Consequently, "Her own ways grew fastidious, her manners more in keeping with what she saw about her". After a row with her mother, who refused to change the domestic sleeping arrangements, she left home. Aided by the (middle-class) welfare officer, Miss Landover, she found a place in a pleasant hostel. Finally, a repentant mother pleaded for Effie to return to a home where privacy and also cleanliness now prevailed ⁹.

Quantification of this subject is hindered by its very nature. Thus, as Wohl points out, historians are forced to turn to impressionistic qualitative materials ¹⁰. Writing of the poorer working class in 1883, Andrew Mearns asserted that "Incest is so common; and no form of vice

and sensuality causes surprise or attracts attention" ¹¹. But evidence examined by Chinn in his research of the poorer areas of Birmingham for the period 1880-1939 suggests that incest was no more common amongst the poor than anyone else in society, care being taken in the overcrowded living conditions to ensure separate sleeping arrangements for the sexes. In fact, as children grew older the father and boys would often sleep in one bedroom or downstairs, while the mother and daughters shared the other bedroom ¹².

This situation was evident in the working-class "officer" Bullock household, where, during the early years of the twentieth century, sisters shared their parents' bedroom, while the boys slept in the other one. Care was taken that the sexes did not see each other naked. Bath nights were strictly segregated, and on the girls' bath night all males were locked out of the house ¹³.

Discussion of sex within the Victorian family (of all social hues) was generally strictly taboo, a prohibition which, according to Diana Gittins, continued into the twentieth century. Her research, covering the interwar years, uncovered a ban on discussion of sexual matters between mothers and daughters within both the working and middle classes ¹⁴. Methodist personal accounts reflected the attitudes of "respectability" by revealing evidence of reluctance on the part of Methodists with "officer" or "ministerial" connections to discuss relationships which may have involved a sexual dimension, a reticence which extended far beyond the period of this thesis. Thomas Raymont (the brother of two ministers), in 1949, admitted to having friendships with female pupil teachers while at school, but added, "At this distance of time, say 70 years, there is no need to enlarge upon this subject" ¹⁵. More succinctly, "officer" Robert Richardson, when writing in 1979 of his courtship of his wife, declared,

"I do not propose to go into details of our romance....Nowadays it seems many....seem anxious to publicise their private lives, and the more lurid they are supposed to have been, the more avid has the public appetite to swallow their stories. To be honest, revelations of such intimate and private details make me sick" ¹⁶.

These personal viewpoints largely reflected the attitude of Methodist Officialdom. Bernard Taylor recorded that, as a young man in the early part of the twentieth century, he found that sex education was approached with embarrassment and trepidation, his chapel in the mining village of Mansfield Woodhouse being reluctant to embark on such a task. Instead, he received instruction on this topic from the Alliance of Honour, a nationally organised body which worked through Sunday Schools and chapels ¹⁷.

In the light of Taylor's disclosure, it is not surprising that official literature made very little mention of sexual morality, but when the subject was (usually obliquely) broached, continence was strongly advised, the problems inherent in relationships between young persons of the opposite sex being perceived within a wider religious context. A nineteenth century sermon by John Ashworth warned young men against conducting flirtations with two or more women at a time: "there is no young woman worth a straw who would be one of three". Since a young woman was heavily dependent upon a young man's honour in such matters, the latter's conduct should be guided by Christian principles: "Never be guilty of a single act...which could not be set before God Almighty" ¹⁸. Warnings continued into the next century, as an article of 1920 in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* admonished young persons: "never keep improper hours when courting. Do all your courting like rational beings" ¹⁹. A book review of 1930 in the same publication reaffirmed the need for continence by advising young women: "Bear in mind that you have to control and guide your emotional life, not to be

led by it" ²⁰. The need for such warnings suggests that social trends were threatening to undermine traditional values.

There were some, albeit slight, indications within "ministerial" circles of the Methodist movement of attempts to eliminate ignorance. Leslie Weatherhead, from his own experience, found that ignorance was particularly rife among the religious, who had been brought up in "hushed piety". Consequently, he was keen for young people to be educated about sex. To this end he published *The Mastery of Sex Through Psychology and Religion* in 1931. Nevertheless, he remained a firm advocate of self-control, abstinence before marriage, monogamy and chastity ²¹.

The chapel sometimes attempted to enforce what it considered to be proper moral standards within its membership. Moore reported the dismissal of a certain J Bessford from Waterhouses Primitive Methodist Chapel in 1867 for immoral behaviour ²². Thomas Wright recorded that at his Local Preachers' Quarterly Meeting held on 21 March 1914 : "Time taken up by very delicate business of removing a brother's name from the plan for alleged mis-conduct with his servant" ²³. Although this study does not suggest that censure of male Methodists' sexual behaviour was unknown before the mid-nineteenth century, the above evidence does link Connexional attitudes with those social purity organisations of the wider society which were founded in late nineteenth century. Such innovative organisations as the Church of England Purity Society and the White Cross Army were created with the aim of promoting sexual continence in men at a time when women were perceived as the source of sexual immorality ²⁴.

Methodist personal accounts of male "officer" and "rank-and-file" subjects exhibited evidence of both the approval and the practice of

self-restraint among the young of the movement. After reading Thomas Cluston's book, *Before I Wed : or Young Men and Marriage*, shortly before his marriage in 1914, Thomas Wright declared, "...it has done me good to read it...It's theme, if it had to be crystallised into one word, that word is 'self-denial'". His disapproval of pre-marital sexual relations was apparent four years later when he recorded, "Sorry to hear [his brother] Wilfred must get married" ²⁵. A decade or so later, "rank-and-filer" Jack West resisted temptation when he visited the home of his girlfriend, Joyce, whose parents were away on holiday: "We spent a while trying to take in all it meant to be alone there together. Then determined not to spoil it in any way I bid her good-night as I had usually done" ²⁶.

However, abstinence was not always solely the result of the individual's ability or desire to curb his or her own natural impulses. Outside agencies could also play a part in the maintenance of chastity. In his study of the poorer areas of Birmingham for the period 1880-1939 Chinn found girls reluctant to indulge in sex before marriage for fear of incurring maternal displeasure. This evidence is confirmed by the experience of working-class "rank-and-filer" Hannah Mitchell (born 1871), who, having been reared on a farm, and so not totally innocent of matters concerning sex, recalled her mother giving her an "anti-male" complex by her blunt warnings about the dire consequences of "running after lads". This attitude was reinforced by Mitchell's own observations of friends who had "fallen victims to the primitive passions of the farm lads" ²⁷.

Plumb contends that the taboo on discussion and general emphasis on self-control resulted in ignorance in many of the young. Victorian middle-class girls, totally ignorant of sexual matters, were often "shocked into frigidity" on their honeymoon ²⁸. Similarly, in their

research on working-class women, Elizabeth Roberts and Chinn found that such ignorance persisted into the interwar years. They also discovered a general taboo on discussion of the workings of a woman's body ²⁹.

Methodist personal accounts revealed little about the extent to which any instruction or advice concerning sexual behaviour took place within the Methodist home. Jim Bullock presented some scant and rather ambiguous evidence, mentioning briefly that in Bowers Row many children left school "practically ignorant of the basic facts of life" ³⁰. Nevertheless, since he made no distinction between Methodist and non-Methodist, his account does suggest that the ignorance prevailing within the wider society also pervaded Connexional homes.

In society at large illegitimate births declined by 40 per cent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By the late 1930s, the proportion was down to less than five per cent in England and Wales. Barbara Brookes asserts: "The social norms of reproduction : that it should take place within the family unit and that it was a married woman's primary duty to care for children at home, were more firmly established" ³¹. Family attitudes towards the possible result of pre-marital sexual relations, namely, pregnancy, varied a great deal within the working class. Amongst her working-class subjects, Roberts found a spectrum of familial responses to extra-marital pregnancy ranging from shame (which, in some instances, could invoke suicide in the girl) to mild rebuke, even if marriage did not ensue ³².

Sympathy towards the plight of unmarried mothers was also found among working-class Methodist "officer" personal accounts. At the end of the nineteenth century the wife of George Edwards, while serving on the Board of Guardians of East and West Beckham, Norfolk, opposed the severe treatment of girls in the workhouse who had given birth to

illegitimate babies, many of whom were forced to do the hardest work when they were not fit ³³. But, despite the compassion shown by Mrs Edwards, it was difficult to assess her attitude towards the sexual morality of these young women.

Attitudes towards the discussion of sexual mores were not homogeneous throughout society, some writers, for example, showing no reluctance to discuss the issue. Charles Kingsley saw sex as, "the centre of a new vision of life, an emotionally charged conviction, about which religion, as well as morality and social issues must be orientated" ³⁴. Similarly, Coventry Patmore's working drafts of *The Angel in the House* (published 1853-4), which idealised his relationship with his first wife, showed a significant concern with the sexual centre of marriage³⁵.

Moreover, Lucy Bland asserts that the breaking of the taboo on public discussion of sex came in the 1870s with the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts. In the latter part of the 1880s the Men and Women's Club organised talks and debates which covered issues such as birth control, divorce, and sexual relations ³⁶. The last third of the nineteenth century also saw the emergence of sexology, a genre which from its inception reached a wider readership than that intended by "respectable" society ³⁷. A growing interest in woman's sexuality was exemplified by the popularity of such works as Marie Stopes' *Married Love*, published in 1918, which popularised many of Havelock Ellis' ideas on heterosexuality ³⁸. In fiction, the "New Women" novels of the 1890s wrote of sexual behaviour with unprecedented frankness ³⁹.

However, the women of the Men and Women Club were eventually silenced by the patronising attitude of men, and by their "acute experience of vulnerability" ⁴⁰. Even the work of the apparently free spirited

Patmore showed a growing conservatism as he censored his early works "into oblivion" ⁴¹. Thus, respectable silence triumphed over open-minded discussion. But, for some, within all social classes, respectability was maintained for public appearances only. In 1899 Dora Kerr wrote, "There is a deal of Free-Love among married people in England, in the refined classes...the one great drawback to it is the amount of deceit which endangers self-respect" ⁴². Writing of the same period, Paul Thompson asserts that in rural society the working class was less affected by Victorian notions of sexual respectability ⁴³.

A similar situation existed in the middle strata of society. In her study of breach of promise cases, mostly of the period 1850-1900, and mainly involving lower middle-class and upper working-class plaintiffs, Ginger S Frost found evidence of sexual relations between partners in about 25 per cent of cases ⁴⁴. However, such premarital intercourse was perceived as an element of a long term relationship, which was intended to lead to marriage ⁴⁵.

One of the many reasons why these relationships failed to reach this matrimonial goal was the double standard of Victorian morality. Once the female plaintiff had agreed to entering into a sexual relationship, the male defendant judged she had failed the test of chaste womanhood⁴⁶. According to one prevailing sexual ideology, the respectable woman was devoid of sexuality, a notion endorsed by the medical profession. Acton commented: "The best mothers, wives....know little or nothing of sexual indulgence....The married woman has no wish to be treated on the footing of a mistress" ⁴⁷. Overt sexuality in a woman could lead to her father or brothers arranging her incarceration on the grounds of insanity ⁴⁸. In literature madness, usually hereditary in the female line, was the standard explanation for

passion, self-assertion or violence, exemplified in the bigamous and murderous heroine of Mary Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* ⁴⁹.

However, not all of Acton's contemporaries endorsed his view. The heterogeneity of opinion within the secular world may be demonstrated by comparing the double standard of morality, with its concomitant suppression of female sexuality, with the aims of the above mentioned social purity movement of the latter decades of the nineteenth century, which sought, through organisations such as the National Vigilance Association to enforce sexual continence among both men and women throughout society ⁵⁰.

Diversity of opinion within the secular world was further manifested by those who stressed the existence of sexual zeal within both male and female alike. The *London Medical Review* commented: "...there can be no doubt that both in the human subject and in the lower animals the female does participate in the sexual passion" ⁵¹. Even more rebelliously, some nineteenth and early twentieth century feminists, such as Edith Ellis, William Morris, Mona Caird and Eleanor Marx openly advocated sexual relationships for women outside the bonds of matrimony⁵².

Nevertheless, despite the liberal views expressed in some quarters of society, into the next century Chinn found that working-class women generally were never expected to gain any pleasure from sexual activity⁵³. Indeed, nineteenth century nomenclature had reinforced the double standard by labelling those women who did not conform to prevailing norms as "fallen". Either, they had fallen from a recognised position within "respectable" society, or, perhaps, within the family unit. Such an ideology led to some working-class girls, innocent of sexual misconduct, but without family, being labelled as "fallen" ⁵⁴.

Although official Methodist literature throughout the period of this study evinced little inclination to enter upon any discourse concerning women's sexuality, there were slight indications of endorsement of "respectability's" depiction of the "fallen" female. For instance, in a nineteenth-century sermon by John Ashworth the importance of young women to retain their modesty and purity was stressed. Although Ashworth provided no biblical justification, he exhorted them to avoid the danger of accompanying young men to "bye-ways", since, "any John worth a straw will never think the better of Mary for going with him there" ⁵⁵.

Similarly, Methodist personal accounts made scant mention of any gender based differences in the sexual mores expected of young Methodists. Bullock's passing remark that, during the first decades of the twentieth century brides in Bowers Row were formally acknowledged to be virgins, but not their grooms ⁵⁶ did indicate the presence of the Victorian double standard therein. However, due to its brevity and ambiguity Bullock's testimony is by no means conclusive. Nevertheless, since, as on previous occasions, he failed to make any distinction between the behaviour of Methodist and non-Methodist, his account does suggest links between the attitudes of Connexional members and those of their surrounding secular community. Moreover, his (albeit oblique) affirmation of the double standard of morality amongst Methodists contrasts with the continence manifested in the contemporary behaviour of Thomas Wright and Jack West discussed earlier in this chapter, and thus suggests a diversity of opinion within the movement respecting gender specific sexual mores.

Courtship

Possibly to avoid the potential temptations of the flesh inherent (for both men and women) in long courtships, official Methodism in the nineteenth century adopted a pragmatic approach by clearly defining the purpose of this pre-nuptial period. A lecture of 1863 presented courtship, "not merely as a pleasant recreation", but rather a state of probation, during which the parties involved come to know one another. As such, it was a process aimed at a clearly defined target, namely, matrimony, which should be reached within a reasonable period of time: "To go courting year after year, and to get no nearer to the goal, is very dreary work and a sad waste of time" ⁵⁷. A decade later a sermon reinforced this viewpoint by acknowledging courtship as a preparation "to get to understand each other's temper, disposition and weaknesses", adding, "No one should go courting for courting's sake". Indeed, before embarking upon this ritual money should be put aside for wedding and household expenditure: "First see your way to a cage before you procure a canary" ⁵⁸. Such exhortations were underlined in both writings by the biblical endorsement: "To everything there is a season, and a time for every purpose under heaven" ⁵⁹. Despite its biblical associations, however, such advice is consistent with that given by those who spoke for the "respectable" society during these years, embodied in Acton's explicit condemnation of long engagements in 1862 as "an almost unmitigated evil", apt to cause sexual excitement ⁶⁰.

One personal account indicated a similar viewpoint. A letter written on 27 April 1894 by minister Hugh Price Hughes to a boyhood friend, on hearing of the latter's forthcoming marriage, stated, "Long engagements are a mistake. Take the advice of an old husband" ⁶¹. This exhortation, although not overtly stating fears of sexual misdemeanours, may have

been motivated by the perceived potential for such misconduct innate in lengthy engagements.

On the other hand, prolonged courtships did receive official approval in special circumstances, for instance, during the First World War, when personal relationships were perceived within a wider patriotic context. In a story written in 1915 a young female farm servant postponed her wedding so that her fiancé could enlist. On hearing that he wished to join the army, she declared (much to the delighted approval of the farmer's wife), "Weddin' can wait...It's old England's need as must come first in days like these" ⁶². But in such circumstances there would have been little danger of sexual misconduct, since the hostilities would have promoted chastity by keeping the lovers apart.

However, long courtships were common within both the Methodist movement and the secular society during the years prior and subsequent to the First World War. According to Roberts, working-class courtships tended to be quite lengthy, lasting a few years ⁶³. Similarly, Methodist personal accounts of all categories of subject, in both the working and middle classes, attested to this phenomenon throughout much of the period under investigation. Early in the nineteenth century (1834) working-class "officer" Thomas Cooper married after a courtship of six years. Nearly four decades later, within the "ministerial" category, the middle-class Hugh Price Hughes had to wait six years before he married in 1873. Within the same social stratum, the "rank-and-filer" father of S J Tyrrell was married in 1876 to one he had known for eight years. Long courtships continued into the next century. Amongst the "officer" subjects in the middle class, Thomas Wright married his fiancée, Ethel, in 1914 after an acquaintance of at least seven years ⁶⁴. But exceptions did occur. Missionary Thomas Champness

married his first wife in 1860 after a whirlwind courtship of seven months. In 1864, as a widower, he married for a second time after knowing his future wife for about a year ⁶⁵.

Champness was not alone in evincing an enthusiasm for matrimony by marrying more than once. Others exhibiting this trait, were found in all categories and social classes of Methodist. They include working-class "ministerial" subject Thomas Raymont, middle-class "officers" Isaac Holden and Emerson Bainbridge, the working-class "rank-and-file" mother of Margaret McCarthy, and the fathers of ministers working-class William Lax and middle-class A S Peake, and of middle-class "officer" subjects Joseph Rank and Norman Birkett. In some of these cases, including those of the Lax, Raymont, Birkett, Holden and Peake families, widowers had been left with young children in their care, so the need to provide maternal care for offspring may have initiated the search for a second spouse ⁶⁶.

Methodist literature of the turn of the twentieth century recommended remarriage among the widowed by presenting imagery of a harmonious celestial polygamy in *The Farringtons*. Here, Mrs Hankey, describing the wedding ceremony of her niece to a widower, recalled that the minister, referring to the groom's first wife "drew a picture of how she'd be waiting to welcome them both, when the time came, on the further shore - upon my word, there wasn't a dry eye in the chapel"⁶⁷.

On the other hand, one "officer" personal account also revealed a rejection of remarriage after the death of a spouse. The father of Greta Barker died in 1917, plunging his wife and three young children into penury. Nevertheless, in spite of their financial difficulties, Mrs Barker resisted the advances of the local postman, who hoped she would accept him as her husband ⁶⁸.

However, resistance towards marriage appeared rarely among the Methodist subjects. Such apparent endorsement of matrimony accorded with the opinion of the nineteenth-century "respectable" secular world which advocated the necessity of marriage and family life for the maintenance of society in the face of (middle class) fears that forces such as socialism would undermine the former, and the latter would disintegrate through industrialisation, urbanisation, irreligion and weakening of traditional moral and social bonds ⁶⁹.

Methodists' views on marriage were also in line with those of the Victorian working-class in the wider society. Jones points out the particular importance of matrimony in this social stratum: "For working-class women, marriage was an economic necessity and unlikely to happen after the age of 25" ⁷⁰. The emphasis placed upon the importance of marriage to women in the wider society continued throughout the period of this study, being confirmed by research such as that of Tinkler, who found that, into the interwar period, the idea that matrimony was crucial to happiness and security continued to dominate popular secular literature for women. She asserts that, the promotion of health and beauty (the "modern look") by popular magazines, though conveying "youth, liberation, mobility and fun" was also, according to J J Matthews, "in order to catch and keep a husband..." ⁷¹. The widespread desire for matrimony amongst women was also emphasised in Derek Thompson's research into interwar Preston, in which he described Friday night, or "Amami night", a time devoted to females beautifying themselves for the boys who grace them with their presence over the weekend. Meanwhile, their potential spouses spent the evening together drinking, "...a holy celebration of masculinity, something to be nurtured and preserved" ⁷².

During the latter half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries secular society tended to be scornful towards those who did not follow its matrimonial expectations, especially if they were women. Levine points out contemporary concern at the predicament of "surplus women" or "social superfluities" in the late nineteenth century, whose lives were supposedly "unenriched by the social cachet and putative material comforts of the marital state" ⁷³. Contemporaries mocked those feminists who remained single, implying an antagonism towards marriage on the part of these women, and unmet sexual needs being sublimated through various campaigns, such as those for women's rights ⁷⁴. Society's antagonism towards the spinster continued into the interwar years. In 1921 Rosaline Masson described the upheaval as the reduction of marriage prospects caused by the deaths of young men in the First World War, and by the fact that economic circumstances forced many "dismayed spinsters into an unsympathetic world" ⁷⁵.

Unmarried women of the Victorian and Edwardian era were, according to Davidoff, nominally unattached to the social system, rendering them incompatible with the social hierarchy. For marriage conferred position within this structure ⁷⁶. Girls in the upper echelons of Society, if not engaged to be married after two or three Seasons, were written off as failures. Women across the whole of the social spectrum were active in promoting marriage. In the upper regions of society they were the chaperons in and organisers of social events for bringing the younger generation together ⁷⁷. At the other extremity of society, Charles Booth noted that among the poor it was the woman who usually put up the banns ⁷⁸.

Official Methodist literature of the latter half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries evinced a difference in emphasis. As in the secular world, the importance of marriage was

generally thoroughly endorsed for both sexes (for instance, in 1873 by the biblical exhortation: "...let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband" ⁷⁹). However, in contrast to the wider society, its efficacy tended to be stressed more in relation to men than women, as illustrated by such reminders as "according as a man is married, he is made or undone" ⁸⁰, and "Solicitude commonly engenders selfishness and folly.. Few bachelors can help becoming members of Self and Company. The acting partners are mostly single men"⁸¹. In fact, a sermon of 1863 estimated that about three in 100 women were not intended by God to marry, being "more useful and quite as happy single as paired" ⁸², a comment suggesting pragmatic acknowledgement of the "surplus women" in society at this time ⁸³. This situation was later openly acknowledged in a Primitive Methodist article of 1905, which suggested emigration of females in the same numbers as males as one possible solution to the problem ⁸⁴. Moreover, a surprising degree of ambivalence about the benefits of the matrimonial state to women occurred in the wry comments which appeared in the *Methodist Recorder* of 14 January 1932:

Small girl to mother, "If I get married will I have a husband like Daddy?"

Mother replies, "Yes".

Girl, "If I don't get married, will I be an old maid like Aunt Kate?"

Again mother replies in the affirmative.

Girl, "Mummy, it's a tough world for us women isn't it?"

This edition also related the reasons given by a spinster for not marrying: "I have money of my own...I have a monkey for amusement; a parrot that talks; and I have a fireplace that smokes" ⁸⁵.

Selecting a Spouse

Despite such occasional levity, for the period of this thesis, Methodists of all social classes ⁸⁶ were firmly linked to those within the secular world in regarding marriage as the norm, and, as such, care was required in deciding who would suitably qualify as a future spouse. It was often difficult for parents to control their offspring's choice of marriage partners. For the better off, carefully arranged social events could define a chosen social circle from which a suitable choice could be made. But, writing of Edwardian society, Paul Thompson points out this was less possible for those further down the social scale, where the only recourse was to encourage offspring to join church or chapel societies and social clubs or respectable youth clubs. For this element of society, the most usual meeting place was the street, park or parade ⁸⁷, a situation which appears to have persisted beyond the 1900s. Derek Thompson recorded three such parades or "monkey racks" in interwar Preston, each one catering for different social gradations within the working class (thus, perhaps, ensuring a degree of exclusivity of choice) ⁸⁸.

Methodist personal accounts also attested to this mode of meeting. Hannah Mitchell recorded that in the last decades of the nineteenth century young couples would parade the street of Bolton in hopes of meeting a future partner, a custom which she did not adopt for herself⁸⁹. However, another "rank-and-filer", a Methodist subject of Roberts, recalled how in the early twentieth century she and a friend would walk along Park Road in Preston on Sunday evenings, where they would "click" with the boys. Such an example is illustrative of the way that living in a large urban community could offer Methodists the opportunity to mix with those outside the sphere of the chapel.

However, this subject also reported that parents always demanded to meet boyfriends in order to show their approval or otherwise ⁹⁰. In fact, Roberts generally found that working-class courtship tended to be subject to parental supervision, witnessed by the strict stipulation of times at which the couples were to be home at night ⁹¹.

Official Methodist literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also expressed the need for guidance in this matter to ensure that the quality of potential spouses would prove compatible with its own standards and expectations. An article of 1885 declared that, although young people should not be deterred from the "Divine institution" of marriage, "let us try to bend and guide their wills by showing them whom to marry and when to marry" ⁹². By 1920 recommendations of interference by an older and wiser generation appeared to have disappeared from official policy, but caution and the need for Divine guidance was strongly urged when choosing a partner for life: "Nothing requires more careful consideration and prayerful thought..Men and women should wait and see if their love will stand the test of time and reflection" ⁹³.

Nevertheless, despite such reliance upon Divine guidance, much official advice appeared to owe more to secular or pragmatic considerations than biblical rationale. For instance, social class was an important criterion in taking this important step. Connexional writings of the nineteenth century advised against marrying too far above or below one's own social station. A lecture of 1863 saw nothing wrong with "a degree or two of advancement", but warned young men against marrying for money: "Stand upon your own feet, and be their peer, not their pensioner...do not barter manhood for money, or independence for influence, or self-respect for high sounding connections" ⁹⁴. A decade later the fortune hunter was warned, "You run

the risk of bartering away your independence, and having to be hen-pecked to your dying day" ⁹⁵.

In contrast, in his examination of marriage within and between the various social classes during the nineteenth century, F M L Thompson ⁹⁶ found a significant number of marriages crossing social barriers in the lower classes. For instance, examination of marriages in Kentish London revealed an increase of sons of unskilled labourers marrying "upwards" from 23 per cent in the 1850s to 27 per cent in the 1870s, by which time two-thirds of daughters of unskilled workers and servants married out of their sub-group, 35 per cent to sons of skilled workers, and 14 per cent into the middle and lower middle class ⁹⁷.

On the other hand, the personal accounts of working-class Methodists, relating to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, offered few examples of social advancement through marriage, or, indeed, any indication of economic criteria being employed in the choice of spouse. In fact, in many cases details of occupation and social background of future wives were not apparent. However, for the majority of subjects for whom information is available, most, within both "rank-and-file" and "officer" categories, appeared to have married within, or, at least in close proximity to their own social stratum. For instance, agricultural labourer (and "officer") Joseph Arch married a domestic servant. Within the "rank-and-file", seamstress Hannah Mitchell wed a shop assistant, as did miner Bernard Taylor ⁹⁸.

One rare example of inter-class marriage was that of agricultural labourer (also class leader and local preacher), John Boot, future father of Jesse. In the 1840s he married Mary Wills, daughter of a book-keeper who "occupied a proud position in Nottingham's staple [lace] industry". His father-law helped to establish John in the

business of selling herbal remedies ⁹⁹. John and Mary were members of the same Wesleyan congregation, one which was, evidently, heterogeneous in its social composition. In this respect the chapel acted as a channel for upward social mobility, any potential family objections to the marriage based upon class differences being counterbalanced by the spiritual values and practices John was likely to have shared with Mary's family ¹⁰⁰.

The other account relating to matrimonial bonding across the boundaries of social class was less harmonious. Bullock recalled that in Bowers Row marriage between miners' daughters and colliery management was frowned upon, remembering that when his own brother married an under manager's daughter "this caused quite a feeling of resentment within the family". Neighbours were unsure if they would be able to speak frankly and freely about management in front of this incomer ¹⁰¹. However, such discomfort and disapproval need not have been informed solely by considerations of social status: the potential of such middle-class incomers to affect the economies of their spouses' working-class families and friends could have made it difficult for the latter to trust them.

Although discussion of social class did not figure substantially in working-class accounts, it gained more prominence in the auto/biographies of the wealthier Methodists of all categories. In discussing nineteenth-century secular society, Branca suggests that marriage to middle-class women was a likely channel for social advancement for the working-class male ¹⁰², whereas F M L Thompson asserts that most rigidity in choice of marriage partners was to be found in the middle classes, for whom matrimony was a union of equals, special scorn being shown for those daughters who married beneath themselves ¹⁰³. Moreover, this attitude appeared to have permeated the

interwar period. Derek Thompson recorded the daughter of a coal merchant who recalled that "...you never thought of going with anybody who was tatty and scruffy. The working class had lower standards....middle-class stuck to middle-class people..." ¹⁰⁴.

With the exceptions of the abovementioned Bullock and Boot families, Methodist personal accounts (found within the "officer" category), persisting into the twentieth century, indicated that the choice of spouse made by middle-class subjects supported the findings of F M L Thompson and Derek Thompson, although matches did occur between those at different economic levels within this stratum of society. In 1850 mill owner (local preacher, and future prominent Methodist benefactor) Isaac Holden married Sarah Sugden, daughter of an old established worsted manufacturer family ¹⁰⁵. In 1878 minister's son, Robert William Perks, himself a solicitor, married Edith Mewburn, daughter of a wealthy Methodist layman ¹⁰⁶. William Farrar Vickers, son of an oil merchant, married Doris Simpson, daughter of a perambulator manufacturer in 1911 ¹⁰⁷.

Financial considerations figured prominently in some of these middle-class matches, a feature which was apparent from the beginning of the period investigated by this study. For instance, during the 1850s the relatives of Ellen, daughter of the late (and very wealthy) George Benjamin Thorneycroft, objected to the attentions paid to her by Henry Hartley Fowler, solicitor and son of a minister. Her family were shocked when she chose Henry, "who had no possessions but his brains and no heritage but his culture and character" ¹⁰⁸. In the 1870s the local preacher father of Norman Birkett, having trained as a draper "found himself a wife with a little money", a daughter of a butcher ¹⁰⁹. Such instances underline the extent to which secular considerations had

infiltrated family life by the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Official writings of the second half of the nineteenth century appreciated that other practical factors, such as temperament and behaviour, were also important when searching for a future mate. A lecture of 1863 recommended that the young man take note of his future mother-in-law when assessing the suitability of a potential wife: "before you pluck the fruit, ascertain whether the tree it grows on be an apple or a crab". Young women were advised to observe how the potential husband treated his parents: "Bad sons make bad husbands, the man who, as a son, is mean and selfish, shews the cloven foot and gives the pledge that, as a husband, he will be hard and ungenerous" ¹¹⁰. Moreover, an article of 1885 entreated young women to seek the company of males who, themselves, did not avoid the presence of their own female relatives. In addition, females searching for a husband were advised to avoid dandies, fops, dog-racers and tipplers ¹¹¹. Tippling and also slovenliness were condemned in women. In 1863 men were exhorted: "Don't court a slattern. A woman in liquor is one of the saddest sights in this fallen world; a woman in dirt one of the most repulsive". To avoid the latter, young men were advised to inspect the hands, hair, nails and teeth: "if [the hem] is unstitched and raggy, the wearer is pretty sure to be loose and slatternly in her general conduct". Moreover, "the hands which knead bread and make puddings should be clean hands" ¹¹². Wives should be industrious, managing their time efficiently. Dinner must be ready when the husband returns home from work: "You must lay this down as a certain fact, that when you marry a young woman you do at the same time marry her dinners" ¹¹³. There appeared to be more Connexional advice given to young men than to young women, a trait implying official support for a more proactive role for prospective husbands than their future spouses. Such an

implication is reinforced by the examination of spousal roles later in this chapter.

Advice was also proffered upon those factors beyond the control of the individual, namely age, and the degree of beauty and intelligence bestowed upon the individual by God and nature. On the whole great disparities in ages were discouraged. In 1863 it was recommended that, since "women are naturally older than men", the wife should be a few years younger than the husband ¹¹⁴. A similar recommendation appeared a decade later, when an age difference of a year or two was presented as the optimum. Wives should not be mistaken for mothers or daughters. But, surprising in the face of this admonition, this sermon also conceded that "if December and May contrive to be happy together, it is no other body's business" ¹¹⁵. However, an article of 1885 was both less ambivalent and more practical in its warning against great age differences: "The month of May may be linked to December by intervening months, but it will never blend with it". It went on to stress that men should not marry a woman much older than himself, nor one who is too immature to cope with wifely duties:

"Not a fine fingered young creature who can sing sweetly, play a few tunes on the piano, speak a little French, do a little embroidery, dress like a doll, and do nothing else. He wants a woman that is well up in what one quaintly calls buyology, bakeology, makeology, mendology, darnology, scrubology, and cookology" ¹¹⁶.

Methodist personal accounts rendered only one example of great disparity of age between spouses, namely that of "officer" Emerson Bainbridge, who, at the age of 53, married Norah, a friend of his daughter, "a very young girl" of about 18 years. The Bainbridge biographers, though giving no details about this marriage, did venture the opinion that Emerson's daughter, Eva Jeffie, "must have had a difficult situation to cope with when her father married Norah" ¹¹⁷.

Nineteenth century Methodist Officialdom discouraged young couples from laying great stress upon looks. In the 1860s and 1870s it was the interior person, not exterior appearance which was important: "Beauty wears out, but breeding is in the bone; and regard should be had to what will last" ¹¹⁸. Moreover, young men who desired beauty in a wife should take care, since, "A plain man looks plainer beside a beauty"¹¹⁹. By 1920, there was a pragmatic shift in attitude: "To marry for looks, it is said, is like eating a bird for its song. Still, the face is something; you have to look at each other a long time if you marry" ¹²⁰.

On the question of intelligence, however, there was no such ambivalence, some nineteenth century official advice linking directly with the eugenicist views current within the secular society. In 1863 the need for good sense in a wife was stressed: "if she is weak in the head,...if the attics are poorly furnished, don't look in that direction...It is doubtful morality to marry and run the risk of multiplying weak-minded people. The sooner the race of soft persons is extinct, the better". Similarly, young women were advised, "whether he be rather weak all over, or his head pretty full of soft places - have nothing to do with him.." ¹²¹. Slightly less belligerently, a decade later young people were advised to avoid great disparities in education and intelligence, otherwise the partner who was deficient ran the risk of "being despised and pitied, instead of honoured and loved" ¹²².

Methodist personal accounts made little direct comparison of intellectual abilities between spouses, but exceptions did occur, a notable (and cruel) example of which lay in the autobiography of Joseph Arch, who married in 1847. Of his unfortunate longsuffering wife he recorded, "She was no scholar, and she did not think over questions and have a firm opinion about them....she was no companion to me in my aspirations....She had no idea of rising in the world" ¹²³. Less

blatantly, there was a suggestion of possible intellectual differences in the diaries of Thomas Wright, who on several occasions prior to his marriage mentioned the intellectual inadequacy felt by his fiancée, Ethel. For instance, in 1912, he recorded that she felt "she was not educated enough for me" ¹²⁴. Although Wright never openly concurred with Ethel's lowly opinion of her intellectual abilities, her feelings of inferiority may have been fostered by his own sense of intellectual superiority, one manifestation of which was his stated disapproval of her "small talk" with her mother ¹²⁵.

The desire for religious compatibility could play an important part in the choice of marriage partners. Although F M L Thompson found nineteenth century Anglicans were so diverse a group that religion did not restrict choice, Catholics were much stricter about marrying other Catholics. Similarly in "old" Dissenting sects (Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Unitarians, Baptists) marrying-in was "most marked and remarked" in the nineteenth century. However he also discerned a move away from religious considerations towards that of class over time. Social factors could prove important even in those denominations which tended to retain marrying-in throughout the century. For instance, wealthy Quakers married wealthy Quakers, and did not ally with Quakers "in humble life". Similarly, the "old" English Catholic families, which were drawn mainly from the gentry, married amongst themselves and did not make matches with the "new" (overwhelmingly Irish) Catholic elements ¹²⁶. Nevertheless, despite social considerations, religious prejudice could play an important role in contriving matrimonial matches into the twentieth century, as revealed by Derek Thompson's study of interwar Preston, where both Catholics and Protestants operated sanctions (though in the latter these tended to be less official) ¹²⁷.

There was a high frequency of intermarriage among Methodist subjects in all categories and social classes throughout the whole period covered by this research, the chapel proving a useful place in which to meet a future partner. Nineteenth-century examples of young people (the majority of which were found among the "ministerial" and "officer" divisions) meeting through Methodist social circles or specific chapel activities include among the "ministerial" subjects (working-class) Raymond Preston and (middle-class) Peter Thompson. Twentieth-century "ministerial" instances include Leslie Weatherhead, Robert Newton Flew, and the parents of Basil Willey, all of whom belonged to the middle class. Nineteenth-century working-class "officers" included John Boot, Arthur Henderson, and Thomas Carter ¹²⁸. Ralph Whitlock recalled that, in the first decades of the twentieth century, the Band of Hope meetings, held at the chapel in his home village of Pitton, near Salisbury, afforded many such opportunities: "few of the older boys and girls went straight home from meetings. We knew of better places - dark yew trees, half-hidden stiles and secluded corners behind barns" ¹²⁹. In fact, the judgement of the chapel community concerning the conduct of affairs of the heart could prove a heavy burden for the young to bear. In the 1880s the youthful Joseph Barlow Brooks was so fearful that his actions would be construed as something more serious than they were, that he was reluctant to invite a girl from chapel to accompany him to a concert, so he asked the chemist's daughter instead ¹³⁰.

Sometimes several alliances occurred between members of two participating families. In the latter half of the nineteenth century there were several intermarriages between the middle-class "officer" Morel and Gibbs families, exemplified by the marriages of sisters Susanna and Martha Gibbs to brothers Thomas and Philip Morel, respectively ¹³¹. In the same century, within the "ministerial" division, the father and uncle of middle-class John Scott Lidgett

married two sisters, daughters of the superintendent minister at the chapel ¹³². Marriage sometimes occurred between members of the same family. Within the middle class, temperance campaigner, "officer" Mrs Lewis, married her cousin in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Similarly, in the same category and social stratum, Joseph Ashby married his cousin Hannah in 1885. In the next century the mother of working-class "rank-and-filer" Margaret McCarthy took a relative for her second husband in 1915 ¹³³. But marriage between family members was not confined to Methodism. Making no distinction between Methodist and non-Methodist, Bullock reported that in the mining community of Bowers Row marriage between cousins was common ¹³⁴, a phenomenon, perhaps, fostered by the size and location of the village which offered a narrower choice of prospective spouses than that available within larger urban communities.

Although not specifying any particular denomination, official literature of the second half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries was firm in its recommendation to readers to marry one who shared their Christian faith ¹³⁵. A sermon of 1841 plainly stated: "That it would not become a Christian, under any circumstances, to marry with one making no profession of religion". Potential marriage partners must have least one qualification - piety: "it should be the piety of the regenerate believer...it must be the piety of the enlightened anxious seeker". Incompatibility between spouses in this respect would have dire results, since a couple who did not share a religious faith would be eventually alienated from each other, a man being "made to feel that even in the partner of his life, he has no companion" ¹³⁶. Two decades later the reader was warned that a believer was unlikely to be able to convert a spouse without faith: "the saved one is apt to think that the other will in time be easily persuaded to become a Christian. The cases are few in which success attends such

hopes...The evil corrupts the good instead of the good purifying evil"¹³⁷. This opinion was still firmly held in 1920: "If you imagine for one moment that after marriage you will win your wife or your husband to be a Christian, you will probably find the pull will be strongest the other way, and you will go backwards. The best rule is for Christians to marry Christians" ¹³⁸.

However, despite this gloom and despondency, Methodist personal accounts revealed one example of the godly triumphing over the unconverted in such a "mixed" marriage which took place in the 1870s. Miss Richardson spotted her future husband, James Flanagan, while he was acting in a repertory company connected with a small hotel in which she and her parents were staying. Unlike the somewhat profligate James, she was "pious, a regular church-goer, and lived in an atmosphere of devotions and prayer". Even before meeting him she prayed for his conversion. On meeting: "Their eyes met, the tale of love was told, and ever onward, through long and straining years, the bond of union remained unbroken". She thus proceeded to be instrumental in the conversion of this future evangelist ¹³⁹.

On the other hand, personal accounts taken from all categories and social classes also attested to the existence of irreconcilable family differences concerning matrimony based upon religious belief. However, such instances reveal a denominational flavour to objections which was not overtly expressed in the contemporary Connexional advice. Within the middle class, in the 1860s Hannah, wife of the Reverend George Macdonald, objected to the engagement between her daughter Louisa and Alfred Baldwin. The latter, though the son of a minister, had discarded Methodism, to become "an extreme High Churchman" ¹⁴⁰. However, Mrs Macdonald's disapproval may also have been fostered by Baldwin's arrogant autocratic manner. Within the "officer" category, in the

latter decades of the century the working-class grandfather of Beatrice Hawker stopped the romance between his daughter and a young man, who, though a respectable churchgoer, was neither a Methodist nor an abstainer, enjoying an occasional glass of beer. Although objections were nominally based upon drink, Hawker's comment that, "He loved his daughter and would break her heart rather than allow her to marry one who would not 'accept so great salvation' lest she should end in Hell itself" ¹⁴¹, was suggestive of a deeper motive based upon religious differences rather than teetotalism. Less ambivalent were the motives of the grandfather of working-class "rank-and-filer" Mary McCarthy. When, in the early years of the next century, his daughter started courting a Catholic he refused to speak to her for two years, even though she remained in the family home during that time ¹⁴².

For devout Methodists the religious element in matrimony could be fostered a spiritual harmony which facilitated psychic communication between spouses when they were apart. The memoir of Mrs Eliza Banks, printed in the *Methodist Magazine* of 1855, recorded a letter written by her to her (local preacher and class-leader) husband during such an absence: "I got to my room at ten o' clock, when your class was meeting, and endeavoured to meet with you" ¹⁴³. For some, matrimony could not even take place without God's expressed consent. After becoming engaged, minister Leslie Weatherhead, assailed by doubts, recorded in his diary, "If it is not Thy great divine purpose, then break us both before it is too late" ¹⁴⁴.

Nuptial Celebrations

After the choice of spouse had been made, arrangements for the nuptial celebrations had to be undertaken. In her investigation of the

working class for the period 1890-1940, Roberts found that when marriage finally did occur it was a low key affair; there were few white weddings, no large receptions, and rarely a honeymoon ¹⁴⁵. Methodist Officialdom appeared to endorse this regime, exemplified by the 1920 admonition in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*: "To spend foolishly great sums of money on your marriage and wedding tour is waste" ¹⁴⁶. However, possibly as a pragmatic concession to any middle-class readership, the prospect of a honeymoon was not entirely dismissed by this declaration.

Despite such abstemious advice, Methodist weddings emulated the secular society in their heterogeneity. Although spiritual considerations may have played an important part in choosing a spouse, throughout the period covered by this research, for all categories and social class of subject, more material factors came to the fore when planning nuptial celebrations, the splendour of which being determined primarily by economic circumstances. As in the case of Roberts' study, the weddings of working-class Methodists, such as the parents of Cliff Willetts, Hannah Mitchell, and the miners of Bowers Row, were simple affairs. Within the "officers", the Willetts' wedding in the 1890s was an extremely modest event. The future Mrs Willetts took an hour off work (as a chainmaker), and she and her fiancé went to be married in Cradley Church, attended only by two passers-by, who acted as witnesses¹⁴⁷. "Rank-and-filer" Hannah Mitchell had no white dress, speeches or honeymoon, and celebrated her wedding in 1895 at her sister's house. Nevertheless, a substantial wedding breakfast of ham, beef, pickles, fruit pies, cakes, jellies, trifles, wine, beer and trifles was provided for guests to enjoy ¹⁴⁸. Methodists' adaptation to and integration with the surrounding secular community was illustrated by Jim Bullock's account of early twentieth century weddings Bowers Row, where weddings receptions of Methodist and non-Methodist alike

were usually held at either the home of the bride or in the Sunday-School room, depending upon the finances of the family and the number of guests. The groom would utter a few words thanking the bride's parents for allowing him to marry their daughter, for providing the reception and thanking family and friends for their gifts. The best man would toast the bridesmaids and tell a funny story. Usually there was no honeymoon ¹⁴⁹.

However, Methodist personal accounts indicated that honeymoons were part of the marriage ritual for the middle-class Methodist by the late decades of the nineteenth century. Ethel, daughter of the wealthy "officer" Bainbridge family, and her groom, Fetherstone Fenwick, travelled to Scotland after their wedding ¹⁵⁰. Moreover, auto/biographies revealed that, by the first decades of the twentieth century, honeymoons were undertaken by at least some of those lower down in the middle class, illustrated in 1914 by "officer" Thomas Wright who, with his bride, Ethel, honeymooned at Scarborough. In the same year his friend, Arthur, took his new wife to Llandudno. The following year, Wright's sister-in-law and brother-in-law, Luie and Albert, went away to Colwyn Bay after their wedding. However, as with the working-class Methodist, chapel property was frequently the chosen location for the wedding breakfast - both Wright and Arthur celebrated their nuptials in the Wesleyan Sunday-School room ¹⁵¹.

Even within the Wright family, however, there were variations in the scale of these celebrations. Thomas had 50 guests at his wedding, whereas Luie and Albert, though enjoying the refinements of bridesmaids and photographer, had only 22. Moreover, Wright described the 1917 wedding of his brother, Harold, as "Rather a quiet wedding,...about 15 invited, and these with 5 others were the only persons present at the service" ¹⁵². Wright's opinion on the paucity of guests suggested that,

even in the lower echelons of the middle class, weddings were expected to be rather more elaborate affairs by the first decades of the twentieth century, a likely indication of the rising standard of living enjoyed by some sectors of the Methodist community during the period of this thesis ¹⁵³. Indeed, personal accounts yielded some (albeit slight) indication that in previous years fewer guests were the norm, even for the wealthier middle-class Methodist. In 1866 the wedding of Mary, a member of the Bainbridge family, was described in the local newspaper under the heading of "Fashionable Wedding in Newcastle". The bride wore "white corded silk dress with white lace veil", and the couple were married by the father of the groom, the Reverend Charles Prest, an ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference. The wedding procession consisted of 10 carriages and two private vehicles. Nevertheless, even at this splendid celebration, only 40 guests attended the wedding breakfast held at the Bainbridge home ¹⁵⁴.

In secular society general adherence to the such trappings of marriage continued throughout the period under investigation. However, occasionally there were chinks in the armour of tradition. For instance, incompatibilities between the symbols of marriage and their own beliefs led some women to refuse to wear a wedding ring, described by Alice Scatcherd as a "badge of slavery" ¹⁵⁵.

Spousal Roles

Scatcherd's perception of the matrimonial bond aptly linked the condition of many married Methodist women with counterparts in the secular world. In the nineteenth (and, for many, into the twentieth) century power within a marriage was rarely evenly balanced. In the words of Frances Power Cobbe, written in 1878: "The notion that a man's

wife is his property, in the sense in which a horse is his property....is the fatal root of incalculable evil and misery" ¹⁵⁶. This evil and misery was fostered by the legal landscape of the mid-nineteenth century ¹⁵⁷.

Nevertheless, the second half of the century witnessed increasing legislation designed to alleviate gender based inequalities. On the other hand, the extent to which the balance of power was redressed is questionable. For instance, the pre-1857 plight, in which divorce was impossible for any except the most wealthy, was ameliorated by the 1857 Matrimonial Causes Act. However, the double standard still applied by allowing relief to husbands through the wife's adultery, while requiring the wife to prove a compounding offence (such as incest, cruelty or desertion), a situation which lasted until 1925 ¹⁵⁸. In addition, into the twentieth century women tended to be more socially damaged by divorce, as almost without exception a divorced or separated woman had a "lost reputation" ¹⁵⁹.

The 1857 Act, by placing divorce more prominently in the public arena¹⁶⁰, advertised marital grievances, and thus may have affected attitudes towards the patriarchal model of matrimony. Moreover, patriarchal interests were under attack from the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, which gave women control over their property ¹⁶¹. Despite such legislative reforms, however, A James Hammerton refutes any suggestion of a linear transition from a patriarchal to a truly modern companionate form of marriage based upon notions of equality. He contends that the nineteenth century companionate marriage was founded "on mutual restraint, forbearance, and respect", making it "little more than a conditionally attenuated form of patriarchal marriage" ¹⁶². It was an association between

unequals, involving the domination of the "Christian gentleman" over the submissive "womanly woman" ¹⁶³.

Such "respectably" endorsed subordination continued for many women after the turn of the century. Davidoff points out that many working-class wives, unaffected by legislative changes up to the First World War and beyond, continued "in their pre-industrial, almost Biblical, subordination to their masters and husbands" ¹⁶⁴. Moreover, subordination was not confined to those females of the lower orders. Vera Brittain complained on her marriage in 1925, "So long as a woman remains unmarried, she continues to be known as ...Vera Brittain author; but once let her agree to live with some man as his lawful spouse, and everyone conspires to rob her of that unbecoming individualism" ¹⁶⁵. Furthermore, women were considered by many to be not only legally, but also intellectually, psychologically, and physiologically inferior to men ¹⁶⁶.

Differences in intellectual capacities between the sexes were constantly discussed and assessed in the nineteenth century. Men and women, it was argued, had different thought processes, the former analytical in nature, the latter intuitive, the former capable of long and earnest thought, the latter not. Normal women were incapable of disentangling their passions from their reasoning ¹⁶⁷.

Intellectual inferiority was accompanied by psychological instability. After the passing of the Lunatics Act of 1845, which resulted in the construction of county asylums, the number of women committed began to exceed that of men, a reversal of the situation prior to the Act ¹⁶⁸. Class as well as gender also appear as a criterion for commitment, since by 1890 91 per cent of mental patients were paupers ¹⁶⁹. Many Victorian psychiatric books linked mental

problems in women with their reproductive systems. Menstrual irregularities, it was claimed, could predispose a woman to insanity¹⁷⁰. In addition, women faced "mental shipwreck in pregnancy and childbirth"¹⁷¹. Menopause was also traumatic, an event negatively, even contemptuously, perceived in psychiatric literature as a disease ¹⁷².

Methodist literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century showed a degree of ambivalence in emphasising the importance of avoiding great disparities between husband and wife, while also defending the status quo by affirming this "respectably" endorsed societal image of the inferiority of womanhood as an entirety. A lecture of 1863 exhorted, "The real man is he who instinctively and in all places gives honour unto the woman as the weaker vessel" ¹⁷³. A decade later readers were assured that woman's subordination was divinely ordained, not the result of Eve's fall into sin: "We think woman's submission and subjection is rather a providential arrangement from the beginning, than a badge of degradation for being 'deceived' and sinning first" ¹⁷⁴. Moreover, the inherent stupidity of woman was implied in an article of 1890 on rude interruptions to conversations: "One begins to relate an incident, and before he has finished two sentences some parrot in fine clothes chimes in with her senseless gabble, breaking the discourse and compelling the narrator to begin again, or abandon the attempt to instruct or entertain" ¹⁷⁵.

This research has revealed that dismissive attitudes towards any notion of true intellectual equality between men and women persisted into the next century, as illustrated by "rank-and-filer" barrister Ernest Belfort Bax who, writing in 1918, brusquely scorned those men who read "into their relations with their wives and other female associates an intellectual companionship which is not there" ¹⁷⁶. Other accounts, spanning beyond the period of this research, relating to

particular persons, also trivialise women's intelligence. Arch's overt and Wright's implied denigration of their wives' intelligence has been discussed earlier in this chapter ¹⁷⁷. In addition, a "rank-and-file" Methodist subject of Roberts (born 1884) remembered his mother as "without having pretence of any knowledge or intelligence". Less harshly, but still condescendingly, "ministerial" subject Basil Willey, writing in 1965, recalled his mother as "simple, direct and sweet" ¹⁷⁸.

For the Connexion, well into the twentieth century, worthiness in women was synonymous with inconspicuousness. A sermon preached in 1876 on the occasion of the death of Mrs Bowman praised the "silent, plodding, patient work" of this self-effacing woman. Indeed, the minister went on to condemn those women who took on public roles, emphasising "Sweetness of temper is better than a public lecture" ¹⁷⁹. More than 40 years later these traits were still admired, for the 1920 obituary of Mrs Roland recorded, "Her benevolences were numerous, though in many cases unknown, for she sank from publicity" ¹⁸⁰.

Personal accounts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially of "ministerial" and "officer" subjects, from both working- and middle-class backgrounds, underlined feminine weakness, dependency and subordination. The middle-class Reverend F W Macdonald, wrote of his mother: "Her health was delicate and her spirits sensitive, and she felt the strain of a life that was not in all its details congenial to her" ¹⁸¹. After his marriage to Eliza Kilby in 1865 the working-class Thomas Champness embarked upon a period of itinerancy. When his wife asked why they should move away from her home town he replied he feared she "was a little in danger of getting settled among her own people" ¹⁸². Similarly, on her marriage to "officer" businessman Joseph Rank in 1880, the self-effacing Emily Voase undermined her own identity by relinquishing many of her friends and most of her social interests ¹⁸³.

Again within the "officer" category, but lower in the middle stratum of society, writing of the 1885 marriage of her mother, Hannah Ashby, M K Ashby asserted, "Women of her time and sort...took seriously, if not literally, the story of Eve's creation from Adam's rib; they accepted their lessness" ¹⁸⁴. Female self-effacement received praise in the next century, as "officer" George Parkinson, writing in 1911, described the working-class Ann Oliver, a chapel stalwart who was celebrating her Golden Wedding Anniversary, as one who in a "quiet and unostentatious way...rendered much of that unnoticed, self-denying service of which the world takes so little notice" ¹⁸⁵.

For the whole period covered by this research the subordinate position occupied by women both within in the Methodist home and the wider society was generally echoed within the chapel. Although women made up roughly half of the congregations ¹⁸⁶, their presence in the pulpit was discouraged. The 1803 Methodist Conference, in considering the question, "Should women be permitted to preach among us?", passed a resolution which began: "We are of the opinion that, in general they ought not". The resolution then proceeded to lay down the closely monitored exceptional conditions under which their preaching could take place ¹⁸⁷. More than 70 years after this resolution was passed articles may be found which use biblical references to underline this policy. For instance, in 1873 the reader was reminded: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head" ¹⁸⁸. Although there continued to be a number of "irregular" women preachers who ignored the 1803 resolution, it remained Wesleyan policy until 1932 ¹⁸⁹. Female itinerant preachers continued among the Primitive Methodists until the retirement of the last of their number, Elizabeth Bultitude in 1862, though after that date (as was the case amongst the Wesleyans) women continued to be hired as local preachers and evangelists. Female local preachers were

likely to have been pragmatically tolerated by the Connexion at times when there were shortages of male candidates, as illustrated by the mother of Robert Richardson taking on the role during the First World War. In addition, part-time local preaching, in contrast to full-time itinerancy, did not involve lengthy (and often unaccompanied) journeys from home, which frequently resulted in prolonged absences. Thus, it enabled the continuation of normal domestic duties for those women who undertook such posts. In this way, local preaching, as opposed to itinerancy, tended to undermine to a lesser degree the "respectable" notion of the submissive "womanly woman", making it less unacceptable to Methodist Officialdom than its alternative ¹⁹⁰.

Although there was no overt ban on female itinerants in Primitive Methodism, and women preachers were more commonly found in this section of the movement than amongst the Wesleyans, nevertheless, there appeared to be an increasing ambivalence in attitude towards the role of women in the Primitive Methodist chapel as the nineteenth century progressed. Opposition to the presence of female authority within the chapel was apparent in an obituary of 1849 in which the minister husband of the late Elizabeth Stephens praised her "abstinence from matters with which she had nothing specially to do...she never gave me a moment's uneasiness by an undue interference in church matters" ¹⁹¹. Even the 1881 obituary of retired itinerant Sarah Bembridge (the former Sarah Kirkland, the first Primitive Methodist female itinerant, had retired from itinerancy in 1820, two years after her marriage) displayed an almost apologetic attitude for allowing her to preach: "In some females, the impression as to having received from God the call to preach, may have proceeded from a boldness unsuited to the sex. But such was not the case with our subject, who was naturally very modest and retiring in disposition"¹⁹². As E D Graham observes, "One is forced to the

conclusion...that the Primitive Methodist Connexion had nothing against the use of female itinerants, in theory at least, but that as time went on it was felt that their talents could be better employed other than in itinerancy,..."¹⁹³.

Indeed, in a Symposium of 1885 on "The Position of Women in the Church" in the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* Thomas Greenfield considered the true sphere of the woman to be that of the home and family, her role in the chapel best fulfilled as deacon, like the women who ministered to Christ, or Sunday-School teacher (to children and other women)¹⁹⁴. Graham suggests that the negative response of the Symposium was influenced by the upsurge in female preaching which had taken place during the revivals of the 1860s, during which the fact that "a woman was going to preach" had a certain novelty value as an attraction at gatherings. She contends that such deliberate sensationalism evoked by these events would have been unwelcome as Primitive Methodism strove towards "respectability and compatibility" with more established denominations¹⁹⁵. She concludes, "As Methodism became more respectable it did not want women acting outside 'the sphere of their sex' and middle-class values became the accepted standard"¹⁹⁶.

Moreover, into the first decade of the twentieth century women in the Primitive Methodist Connexion were still excluded from key roles in the chapel organisation. The desire to minimise their involvement in the Connexion was apparent in official writings. For example, Langham, writing in 1910, devoted a mere two pages to women in his 90 page account of Primitive Methodism in Tunstall¹⁹⁷. In her research Graham also found indications that in the early twentieth century women were largely confined to the role of "hostess" or "caterer", as illustrated by articles written at the time of the 1907 Centenary

Celebrations which revealed the exclusion of women from administration or organisational spheres ¹⁹⁸.

Nevertheless, opinion on this matter was not homogeneous throughout the Connexion. Complaints arose in some quarters. Writing of female preaching in *The Primitive Methodist Leader* on 24 January 1907, H B Kendall complained that it "seems to have fallen into a good deal of disrepair and neglect, and yet one thinks, might very profitably be re-opened" ¹⁹⁹. Similarly, an article in the same publication in February of that year deplored the little use made of women, giving the impression that female local preachers were low in number and old in years. Moreover, it complained that, besides the scarcity of youthful female blood in preaching, few young women were becoming class leaders, or even taking part in prayer meetings ²⁰⁰. Letters from women in response to this article underlined the fact that Primitive Methodism had become male orientated, women being excluded from any positions of authority or importance. This correspondence also revealed the desire of some women to play a more central part in chapel life, as one correspondent declared, "If a woman has been blessed with the gift of utterance, blended with intelligence and spiritual power, able to look deep into human hearts, her soul longing to tell the 'old, old story', why should she be relegated to the sewing meeting and tea meeting only?" ²⁰¹

However, despite such complaints, Methodist Officialdom, throughout the period of this thesis, defined the main role of a woman as that of "helpmeet". Married women were to be mere adjuncts to the lives of their husbands. An article of 1873 plainly stated that only as a helpmeet can a woman's "natural yearnings be satisfied" ²⁰². This view enjoyed support within the female membership of the movement, as illustrated by an article of 1870. Here, the Biblical basis for this

belief was underlined by the female author, who reminded readers of some of the heroines of the Christianity - Mary, mother of Christ, and all those women "who ministered unto the Lord", such as Lydia, the first convert of the European Church. She stated that throughout the whole Apostolic age "women ...were 'scourers' of saints, 'fellow helpers' of the Apostles in the Gospel" ²⁰³.

Similarly, into the twentieth century Methodist magazines exhibited great zeal in the promotion of this imagery in their descriptions of individual wives of ministers and those occupying official positions within the chapel, especially in relation to wifely support in chapel duties. The 1895 obituary of Mrs Temperton, late wife of the Reverend Charles Temperton recalled that "for thirty-six years she was his helpmeet, walking by his side, sharing the sorrows and joys of "ministerial" life" ²⁰⁴. An obituary of 1900 extolled the virtues of the late wife of the recently deceased Mr Henry Palmer, a local preacher for 60 years: "It is impossible to tell how much help he had in his labours from his holy, beloved, self-sacrificing wife before her translation four years ago" ²⁰⁵. In 1925 this imagery was still being reinforced by Officialdom in a piece which described Mrs Skinner, wife of Councillor James Skinner, Vice-President of the Primitive Methodist Conference, as "a true helpmeet, one who shares his social ambitions and his devotion to the Church" ²⁰⁶. Incidentally, this latter example is illustrative of the secular aspirations which existed amongst those prominent within the movement, such phenomena manifesting themselves in the Connexional acknowledgment and approval of the helpmeet's usefulness in achieving worldly goals.

Auto/biographies of "ministerial" subjects from both the working- and middle-class backgrounds also elevated this ideal of the self-

effacing helpmeet wife, continually on hand to provide support for the husband's spiritual career. Those married in the nineteenth century included working-class James Flanagan, whose wife was described as his "most devoted helper", a woman who suffered through her work: "Of delicate constitution and nervous temperament, Mrs Flanagan has paid the penalty of her devotion in physical suffering"²⁰⁷. The middle-class John Scott Lidgett admitted that "I owe an unspeakable debt to the self-sacrificing and invaluable help of my dear wife throughout an arduous career" ²⁰⁸. In the same social stratum, the wife of Arthur Samuel Peake "sustained him in his labours with perfect devotion" ²⁰⁹. Well into the next century the helpmeet was still hard at her labours. In dedicating his autobiography (written in 1965) to his wife (who "has shared this pilgrimage with me in a comradeship of more than fifty years"), E Benson Perkins praised her "support when things were difficult" ²¹⁰.

Wifely support was also given to secular careers. Alice and Georgiana Macdonald, though not married to ministers or "officers" of the chapel, had been reared in the "ministerial" household of their youth to limit their horizons to being supporters of their husbands. After the birth of her first child in 1861 Alice abandoned her own writing to promote the career of her husband, the architectural sculptor and journalist, John Lockwood Kipling. Georgiana's own considerable artistic talents lay unnurtured while she supported and encouraged the work of her husband, the neurotic, adulterous artist Edward Coley Burne-Jones ²¹¹.

The concept of "helpmeet" promulgated by Methodist Officialdom was closely allied to the wider doctrine of "separate spheres". This ideology, which was evident by the late 1700s, persisted into the twentieth century. Its interpretation has been the subject of

deliberation amongst historians. Its most restrictive definition largely confined the responsibilities of the wife, the "Angel in the House" ²¹², to household matters, while her spouse could venture forth into the outside world. According to the Anglican evangelical Hannah More, writing in 1777, this dichotomy was ordained by nature, men being more naturally formed for "the more public exhibitions on the great theatre of human life" ²¹³. According to Davidoff, one result of enforced domesticity for the Victorian working-class wife was that "...their concerns were, on the whole, of no interest or importance and were even faintly ridiculous" ²¹⁴. This contention is neither uniquely relevant to the working class, nor can it be confined to the nineteenth century. Writing in the mid-1930s, Helena Swanwick, wife of a university lecturer, recalled of other "faculty wives", "Too many of these ladies were not engaged in any work, and tea-talk soon palled"²¹⁵. Feminist Winifred Holtby, writing in 1934, deplored the waste of talent of women tied to the home: "The consciousness of virtue derived from well-polished furniture...is too lightly acquired", such women find "it easier to be a good housewife than a good citizen" ²¹⁶.

Throughout the period covered by this thesis, official Methodist writings commended domestic attainments. Adopting a lexical approach, an article of 1865, in explaining the derivation of the word "wife" from that of "weaver", expounded: "in the word itself is wrapped up a hint of earnest, in-door, stay-at-home occupation, as being fitted for her who bears that name" ²¹⁷. An obituary of 1895 praised the late Mrs Elizabeth Sharpe, who "did not shine on public platforms, but whose true sphere was the realm of the home" ²¹⁸; one of 1910 recorded that the deceased Mrs W M Herdman, "made her husband a beautiful home, so spotless and well managed..." ²¹⁹; another of 1916 reported that Mrs Joseph Rank's home "was her own kingdom" ²²⁰. In 1917 an article, anticipating the end of the hostilities, advised that "the majesty of

domestic work" be emphasised to those women who were currently undertaking work outside the home ²²¹. In 1925 this theme was taken up in a piece which, in describing the home as the woman's "kingdom", asserted, "Worthily to reign there calls for the highest gifts, for strong powers of mind, no less than rich gifts of the heart...It calls for greater gifts than are needed for shining in society or presiding over a committee" ²²².

The latter Connexional exhortation accords with the popular view held in respect of women at work in the years following the First World War. Although there was no novelty in women undertaking paid labour ²²³, the outbreak of hostilities had given many women the opportunity to leave domestic service and other traditional fields of employment and enter new realms of work ²²⁴. In July 1914 3,276,000 women, many of whom were married, were classed as being employed. By April 1918 this number had risen to 4,808,000 ²²⁵.

Gail Braybon's examination of books and press reports (the "reflector and arbiter of opinion") reveals that, though some reasoned and informed articles were written about women war workers, most tended to be glowing accounts, patronising and superficial, "pieces of sentimental and inaccurate rubbish" ²²⁶. But with the onset of peace this attitude completely changed. As Irene Clephane remarked, "From being saviours of the nation, women in employment were degraded in the public press to the position of self-seekers depriving men and their dependents of a livelihood" ²²⁷. The desire to encourage women to abandon the workplace in favour of the home also manifested itself in the provision of courses on domestic skills by the government, charities and other organisations, and also in the closure of day nurseries which had been set up to provide childcare for working mothers ²²⁸.

Women were laid off en masse as war contracts came to an end, and by May 1919 three quarters of those on the dole were women ²²⁹. But again, the press was quick to condemn, witnessed by the *Evening News*: "Many of them would do their best to avoid a job if they saw it coming. A holiday on 25s a week is quite good enough for them" ²³⁰. However, prejudice against women was not confined to those in working-class occupations. For instance, Dyhouse's study of London medical schools of the interwar period revealed a movement to exclude women from their ranks ²³¹.

Nevertheless, domestic confinement of women, no matter to which sector of society they belonged, was not necessarily synonymous with powerlessness. The diversity of ways in which spousal roles were interpreted (both within and across the various social strata), particularly in relation to the balance of power and responsibility between husbands and wives, attested to the heterogeneity of matrimony both within the Connexion and in the secular world. Although Hannah More confined women to the home, she emphasised the importance of the home as the origin of moral influence in a wider world, the starting point for reforming the nation ²³². Examining the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Davidoff sees one of the main aspects of the role of wealthier wives prior to the First World War as representatives of their family in Society, thus maintaining their necessary social contacts ²³³. Additionally, Branca asserts that throughout these years organisation of the household and its servants (whose numbers proliferated during the second half of the nineteenth century) was also fundamental to the skills of the upper and middle-class wife ²³⁴.

However, Branca disagrees with Davidoff's contention that most middle-class households could afford to maintain two or three servants,

arguing that the single servant household would be the norm within the nineteenth century homes in this social stratum ²³⁵. This assertion contradicts any notion of the role of the middle-class wife as merely ornamental. She was a decision maker, not a pampered woman of leisure²³⁶. The rise of real middle-class incomes in the latter part of the nineteenth century provided for increasing spending power with concomitant financial responsibilities ²³⁷. Indeed, besides instructing on the direction of servants, household manuals also concentrated upon the household budget ²³⁸. The financial responsibilities undertaken by the Victorian middle-class wife were evident amongst Methodist subjects in Georgiana Macdonald, who gradually took over control of the family budget after her marriage to the feckless and extravagant Edward Burne-Jones in 1860. Georgiana, who had a horror of debt, thus ensured that hitherto unpaid bills received prompt attention ²³⁹.

Working-class marriages emulated their social superiors in their heterogeneity. In 1910 Anna Martin wrote: "In the eyes of most people the workman's wife is a creature of limited intelligence and capacity....not so much an individual, with interests and opinions and will of her own, as a humble appendage of husband and children" .This assertion can be substantiated by instances of the stereotype Victorian/Edwardian family headed by the overbearing patriarch who dominated his wife, an outstanding example being that of Joseph Arch, whose deprecating comments respecting his wife's intellectual ability were discussed earlier in this chapter ²⁴⁰. On the other hand, although, as in the middle classes, there was a clear separation of spousal roles²⁴¹, there is also evidence that some working-class wives wielded substantial domestic control. Such a phenomenon indicated a "dislocation" or fragmentation of power within the working-class households comparable with that already described within the middle-class home.

In her study of the period 1890-1940, Roberts declares, it is "misleading and inaccurate to see the wife as downtrodden, bullied and dependent. She was more likely to be respected and highly regarded...". Women did not see men as aggressors: "They saw them rather as fellow victims in a poverty trap created by the middle and upper classes" ²⁴². This imagery, in its negation of a simple male/female dichotomy, describes marriages of a more truly companionate type than that propounded above by Hammerton. Moreover, Chinn's discovery of a "hidden matriarchy" ²⁴³ in the lower working class during the period 1880-1939, identified a phenomenon which maintained a power derived from moral force.

Roberts' investigation revealed the working-class wife as likely to be "financial and household manager, and arbiter of familial and indeed neighbourhood standards" ²⁴⁴. The wife's role as financial manager gave her supreme power in the eyes of her children, who tended to see the father in the role of "eldest child" ²⁴⁵. In fact, a "good husband" was one who handed over his wages in return for pocket money ²⁴⁶.

Life was a continual struggle for these women. However, Anna Martin, writing in 1911, believed that the fight for survival made these wives develop an alertness and adaptability superior to that of their husbands, whose wits had been dulled by uninspiring toil, certainly an alternative to the official perspective on male/female intellectual abilities ²⁴⁷. The domestic responsibilities of such women may have been especially burdensome during the First World War, a time when the practical difficulties of running a household were exacerbated by problems such as food shortages ²⁴⁸.

Connexional marital relationships manifested the same heterogeneity as those in the secular world, as besides the submissive and subordinate wives, Methodist personal accounts, spanning the whole period researched, also revealed strong minded independent women in all categories and social classes. Nineteenth century working-class examples include the mother of "officer" Joseph Arch, who was described by her son as: "shrewd, strong-willed, and self-reliant; she was always able to hold every inch of her own with anybody with whom she came into contact" ²⁴⁹. The maternal grandfather of minister Joseph Barlow Brooks "usually went on the fuddle the week before the wakes" to the extent that "he was completely spent up" when it was time to go on the family's annual holiday. The irresponsible behaviour, however, did not prevent his wife from going away with her friends, leaving her husband at home ²⁵⁰. Within the "rank-and-file", the paternal grandmother of James Tyrrell, a Methodist, insisted that her husband, a Baptist, be converted to Methodism: "There's no doubt about it, she was a strong minded woman and [grandfather] James wanted a bit of peace and quiet in life" ²⁵¹. "Rank-and-filer" Margaret McCarthy contrasted her maternal grandfather, a man of "weak and mild disposition", to his wife "a proud, thrifty, hard-working, outspoken woman of strong character and decided opinions" ²⁵².

In the next century, among middle-class Methodists, the mother-in-law of minister Leslie Weatherhead, an older and larger person than her "saintly, lovable and very kind" husband, was "a fully-paid-up member of the Dominating Women's Club" ²⁵³. Again within the "ministerial" families, the mother of Hugh Price Hughes who had "a brain like lightning" stood her ground against her autocratic and overbearing mother-in-law, thus contravening official Methodism's exhortation: "Never say anything against your husband's mother. It is a fatal mistake, and no man worth the name will stand it" ²⁵⁴. Indeed, "Old Mrs

Hughes was taught pretty plainly that her domain, wherever it was, was not in her son's establishment", and an "armed truce" existed between the two women ²⁵⁵.

Dissent also arose in the middle-class "officer" Wright household. The diaries of Thomas Wright illustrated how marriage could empower women, as he charted the transition of Ethel, from a self-effacing, self-deprecating fiancée, into an assertive self-confident wife. Thomas made no mention of his fiancée's antipathy towards his mother prior to their marriage, but shortly after the event his diary revealed open hostility between the two women, and also disagreements between himself and Ethel concerning his mother and also, at times, his sister, Nellie. Although the reader was never enlightened as to the reason for Ethel's dissatisfaction with the Wright females, the journal reported many instances of acrimony. In February 1915 it recorded: "Next hour and a half a terrible time...Ethel and mother began to accuse and counter accuse"; in July: "During tea Ethel made a remark concerning my mother which I deeply resented"; in August "conversation turned on to our people, ie Mother and Nellie especially. Ethel complained strongly about their conduct...I resented this to a certain extent, and we both became very much distressed" ²⁵⁶. But despite Thomas' resentment, and the distress suffered by him and Ethel, she continued her criticism, to the extent that, by 1917, Thomas no longer described such attacks in detail, but instead had introduced a special symbol - X - to denote these episodes. In the course of this year this symbol appeared five times ²⁵⁷. It was not surprising, therefore, that in the following year he described, perhaps both in hope and desperation, as "very fine" the "reverent sketch" of the relationship between Ruth and Naomi which he had read in Marianne Farningham's book, *Women and their Work* ²⁵⁸.

Chinn's research indicated that the power of his working-class subjects was confined to the family and community, they had no time for outside interests, such as politics ²⁵⁹. Jones comments upon the isolation of women from places of political discussion, designating the late nineteenth century working-class home, "a depoliticized haven" ²⁶⁰. Further up the social scale, this apparent lack of interest in the world beyond the home is supported by Burstyn's contention that the notion of women's purity prevented Victorian middle-class husbands from discussing (possibly unethical) details of business with their wives. "Social intercourse between the sexes was therefore reduced to a series of vacuous conversations" ²⁶¹.

Conversely, other research undermines any notions of homogeneity in relation to the sphere of wives' activities by revealing middle-class wives who, from the middle decades of the nineteenth century, did take an interest in affairs outside the home. However, the "public sphere" could take many forms ²⁶², and participation in it did not necessarily guarantee equal standing to women or ensure their independence. For instance, women might be involved in political activities, but citing the example of the Ashurst family's participation in the British campaigning for Italian Emancipation during the 1840s, Kathryn Gleadle detected the presence of "separate spheres" in the unobtrusive nature of the roles played by female family members ²⁶³. The public sphere might take the form of charity work. In her research covering the period 1860-1914, Paula Bartley comments upon marriages which took place within the same (affluent) social and philanthropic code, indicating a "network of philanthropy" ²⁶⁴. However, although Davidoff warns against any dismissal of women's charitable activities as merely "the fluttering of social butterflies" ²⁶⁵, she concedes that loyalties in many middle-class women would have been split between the desire to

do useful work and the social demands of their family; and usually they did not possess the necessary skills to break free from the latter ²⁶⁶.

On the other hand, during the latter half of the nineteenth century some women did succeed in publicly maintaining their interests and connections independently of family involvement. For instance, Barbara Bodichon spent one half of the year in Algeria with her husband, and the other in England with her feminist activist friends ²⁶⁷. However, such independence acquired by women could be hard for those in authority to accept. In her research on late-nineteenth century missionary propaganda, Judith Rowbotham discovered that, though such publications were ready to give "approval by association" to missionaries' wives, there was a reluctance to accord the status of hero and martyr to those women who served as missionaries in their own right ²⁶⁸.

Reaction against confinement to home and family affairs was embodied in popular literature as far back as the "subversive" novels of the 1860s, which presented portraits of women, sharply contrasting with the "docile, apathetic and sickly Victorian Lady" ²⁶⁹. Instead of passive wives and mothers, readers found seductresses "barbarous, intoxicating, dangerous and maddening" ²⁷⁰. No Angels in the House, the women in Wilkie Collins' *Armadale*, written in 1866, were reluctant to leave Open House at the local sanatorium, finding the music, library and amusing company of the lunatics preferable to family life at home ²⁷¹.

Methodist personal accounts yielded no extremes of independence such as those exhibited by Bodichon, no heroism as that displayed by women who went out into foreign lands to spread the Gospel, nor eccentricities of behaviour as those evident in the rebellious heroines of popular novels. Nevertheless, "officer" and "rank-and-file"

personal accounts in particular, relating to the whole period of this research, attest to the heterogeneity of interests and ambitions among Methodist wives of both the middle and working classes in their pursuit of activities unconnected with household affairs. Sometimes this took the form of independently participating in the "public sphere", even sharing the same roles as their male counterparts, and thus dissolving the "separate spheres".

Such activities might infiltrate the business domain. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century Martha, wife of wealthy businessman and "officer" William Hartley, maintained "a firm grasp of his business in its many ramifications and an intimate familiarity with it" ²⁷².

More significant to this research were those activities located in the sphere of politics. Personal accounts of both working- and middle-class subjects presented examples of assertive Methodist wives who, like their self-confident peers in the secular world, grasped the increasing opportunities for political empowerment granted to them by legislation of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ²⁷³. An Act of 1869 gave the working-class grandmother of "rank-and-filer" Margaret McCarthy, as a widow and householder, the entitlement to vote in local elections, a duty she proudly undertook. Moreover, she was a firm supporter of the women's suffrage cause, instilling her opinions into the mind of McCarthy's mother ²⁷⁴. Legislation of 1894 enabled married women such as the middle-class mother of "officer" Robert Richardson to serve on the Hethersett Parish Council ²⁷⁵, and the wife of the upwardly socially mobile "officer" George Edwards to be elected to the parish council and Board of Guardians of East and West Beckham in Norfolk ²⁷⁶ in the early years of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most noteworthy example of empowerment was that of working-class "rank-and-filer" Hannah Mitchell, a remarkable woman, Methodist or otherwise. She "did not take to domesticity...she was never prepared to sink her whole being in a family and marriage". In her memoirs, she spoke scathingly of Socialist young men, like her husband, who "expected Sunday dinners and huge teas like their reactionary fellows". However, it is questionable to what extent Gibbon Mitchell's culinary expectations of his wife were satisfied, since Hannah appeared to enjoy ample free time away from the kitchen to pursue her many political interests, which included a very active membership of the Women's Social and Political Union and the Independent Labour Party. In the 1920s, by which time women were admitted to all branches of local (and national) government she served as a Labour member of the Manchester City Council ²⁷⁷.

Although their political achievements were comparatively small in relation to those of Mitchell, both Mrs Edwards and Mrs Richardson proved to be spirited women of influence, not only in their local secular communities, but also within the realm of the chapel. Thus they were characteristic of a small minority of women detected within the "ministerial" and "officer" categories who appeared to begin to undermine male domination of chapel affairs. George Edwards began lay preaching shortly after his marriage in 1872, but was handicapped in this work by illiteracy. His wife not only taught him to read and write, but also corrected and guided his preparation of services ²⁷⁸. By acting as a driving force, though still nominally the "helpmeet", Mrs Edwards acted as a power in her own right within the chapel, though it was not clear to what extent this influence upon her husband was known to the congregation. However, Mrs Richardson's influence within the chapel was overtly stated in her role of speaker at church meetings, and also as preacher during the First World War ²⁷⁹. Wifely authority

and influence was detected in "ministerial" circles. The contribution made by the wife of Hugh Price Hughes to her husband's opinions and actions was sufficiently forcibly expressed by him to cause shock at times amongst his contemporaries ²⁸⁰.

Examination of such assertive wives yielded no suggestion of any incompatibility or conflict in spousal role expectations between these women and their husbands. On the contrary, such couples appeared to enjoy a companionate mode of marriage in which the husbands' flexibility of attitudes manifested itself in the condoning or even providing active support for their spouses' efforts.

Conclusion

During the whole period covered by this thesis, wider societal influences were apparent within the Connexion and its membership of all categories across the social spectrum in their "respectable" reluctance to discuss sexual issues. Evidence, albeit scant, suggested that young Methodist women shared with their non-Methodist peers an ignorance on such matters.

Although the Connexion biblically endorsed matrimony throughout the period, the support for this estate manifested by Methodist Officialdom and its membership amongst all categories and social classes also gave tacit support to the bourgeois desire to uphold the societal status quo, and more practically, recognised the economic necessity and not just the social value of marriage for women. Moreover, Officialdom's pragmatism was manifest in its tolerance towards those women who remained unmarried, an acknowledgement of contemporary demographic

trends which was not apparent amongst commentators in the wider society.

On the other hand, the proliferation of marriages between Methodists within all categories across the social spectrum (even between members of extended families) throughout the period of this study, and the opposition to marriages to non-Methodists found within all categories not only suggests a membership compliance with Connexional promulgations on the need for religious compatibility between spouses, but also implies a demarcation of Methodist families from the non-Methodist world. However, marriage between those belonging to the same community, or between members of individual families, or objection to marriage to outsiders by members of a particular denomination was not confined to Methodism. In addition, the chapel, where many couples met, should be viewed as fulfilling a social as well as a religious function, especially in its role as a channel for social mobility through marriage.

Wider societal influence on Connexional family life was evident in the lengthy courtships undertaken by Methodist couples within all categories and social classes, as they emulated their peers in the secular world in the face of disapproval by both the Connexion and "respectable" opinion. Similarly, material forces were manifested within all categories and social classes of Methodist families as, throughout the period of this research, despite Connexional condemnation of great expenditure on weddings, it was economic circumstances that dictated the nature of their nuptial celebrations. Moreover, the tendency towards intermarriage between middle-class Methodists reflected trends within the wider society. Indeed, by the start of the period of this research, secularisation was evident in

respect of the financial considerations associated with certain of these matches.

Throughout the period the diversity of Methodist families was highlighted by the presence, within all categories and social classes, of Methodist women who conformed to the Connexionally, biblically and "respectably" endorsed notion of the submissive and subordinate "helpmeet" wife, alongside a significant minority of wives who emulated their more assertive peers in secular society by enjoying companionate marriages which allowed, or even encouraged, them to assert themselves to various extents in a multiplicity of ways within the home, the chapel, or the wider world. Moreover, although the dominant Methodist attitude was that of support for sexual continence in both sexes (as advocated by the social purity movement of the late nineteenth century), there was evidence (albeit scant) to suggest a degree of sanction within the movement of the "respectably" endorsed Victorian double standard of morality.

Finally, the concept of a rural/urban divide proved relevant to working-class Methodists as regards the selection of a spouse. For those living in an isolated community, such as Bowers Row, choice was restricted, making marriage between members of the immediate community, or even between members of the same family commonplace. In contrast, the "monkey racks" of urban Preston and Bolton offered the young Methodist a much wider range of potential partners from which to choose.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Cominos, "Late", p.18.
- ² See Chapter Three for further discussion of the so-called "work ethic" amongst Methodists.
- ³ Plumb points out that, in middle and upper-class households, while adults from the middle decades of the nineteenth century enjoyed a rich diet, children were often confined to a low diet predominating in boiled potatoes, milk puddings and suet, to suppress the development of carnal appetites. Condemnation of masturbation was most drastically enacted in the Marsden case of 1855 when Dr Marsden allowed governess Celestine Doudet to systematically ill-treat, starve and beat his daughters (two of whom died) in order to "cure" them of supposed masturbatory tendencies. Plumb, *op. cit.* pp.240-1; M S Hartman, "Child Abuse and Self Abuse", *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 2 (1974), pp.228-48.
- ⁴ Mitchell, *op. cit.* p.45.
- ⁵ Nancy F Anderson acknowledges the general conspiracy of silence on sexual matters, but asserts that on incest it was of "Watergate proportions". N F Anderson, "The 'Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill' Controversy : Incest, Anxiety and the Defence of Family Purity in Victorian England", *The Journal of British Studies*, XXI (2) (Spring 1982), p.69.
- ⁶ *Hansard* (Commons), 4th ser CXXV, 820, (1903) quoted in Anthony S Wohl, "Sex and the Single Room : Incest Among the Victorian Working Classes" in Wohl, ed. *op. cit.* p.201.
The concern for protecting "family purity" from "the polluting idea of unnatural passion" helped opposition to permitting even the semblance of incest in the form of marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister. An Act of 1835 had decreed this alliance illegal, and the matter was debated in Parliament frequently between 1842 and the eventual enactment of a Wife's Sister Bill in 1907. Early opposition to the legislation on religious grounds was based on literal Biblical interpretation, for example, Leviticus 18:16 forbidding "to uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife" - by analogous reasoning applied to nakedness of wife's sister. Many claimed that the relationship was psychologically consanguineous, involving a natural instinctive revulsion against a man marrying his wife's sister. Others claimed that enabling legislation would cause a man to lust after his sister-in-law, and thus destroy the peace of mind of his wife. The passing of the 1907 bill was possible, according to Anderson, because the Edwardian family was less of "a hothouse of incestuous feelings" than its Victorian predecessor. Indeed, the intensity of feeling between some Victorian siblings, such as that of Sarah Disraeli for her brother, described as, "a passion bordering upon romance" may have contained a (albeit probably unconscious) sexual component. Percy Greg, "Why Should We Break Up the Marriage Code?", *National Review*, VIII (1886), 529 quoted in Anderson, *op. cit.* p.72; Anderson, *op. cit.* pp.75-83, 85; Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (New York, 1968) quoted in *ibid.* p.72.
- ⁷ *Lancet*, 22 August 1885, p.145, as quoted in Wohl, *op. cit.* p.201.
- ⁸ Wohl, *op. cit.* p.211.
- ⁹ Florence Bone, "Lass with Notions", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, (1925), pp.618-21.
- ¹⁰ Wohl, *op. cit.* p.197.
- ¹¹ Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883, 1970 edition), p.61. This sentiment was endorsed by Beatrice Webb over 40 years later when writing of her sweat shop experiences: "The fact that some of my workmates....could chaff each other about having babies by their own fathers and brothers, was a gruesome example of the effect of debased social environment".

- B Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (New York, 1926), p.310 quoted in Wohl, *op. cit.* p.203.
- ¹² Chinn, *op. cit.* p.152.
- ¹³ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.9-10.
- ¹⁴ Gittins, "Birth" p.54.
Marie Stopes (born 1880) was a child of a university graduate mother who lectured on women's rights, but who told her daughter nothing about sex. Marie married at the age of 31, but not until two years later, did she learn (from a book) that her marriage had not been consummated. By 1917 her marriage had been annulled. She wrote *Married Love* to help others to avoid her problems. Perkin, *op. cit.* pp.57-8.
- ¹⁵ Raymont, *op. cit.* p.11
- ¹⁶ Richardson, *op. cit.* p.37.
- ¹⁷ Lord Taylor of Mansfield, *Uphill all the Way : A Miner's Struggle* (1972), p.24.
- ¹⁸ J Ashworth, "Young Men, Husbands and Fathers" in Calman, *op. cit.* p.322.
- ¹⁹ James Learmount, "Love, Courtship, Marriage, and Married Life : 2 - Courtship", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLIII (1920) (hereafter "Courtship"), p.379.
- ²⁰ Dr Parkes Cadman, *Answers to Everyday Questions*, reviewed as "Book of the Month" in *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 153 (1930), p.430.
- ²¹ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.101
- ²² Waterhouses Primitive Methodist Church Leaders' and Society Meetings, Minutes, 1863-85. Minutes of meeting 18 July 1867 in Moore, *Pit-men*, p.138.
- ²³ Entry for 21 March 1914 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ²⁴ These two organisations merged together in 1891, and remained the Church's organisation for work among men until 1939.
Paula Bartley, *The Changing Role of Women 1815-1914* (1996), pp.93-6.
Further discussion of the social purity campaign and other prevailing sexual ideologies occur later in this chapter.
- ²⁵ Entries for 1 May 1914; 22 Aug 1918 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ²⁶ West, *op. cit.* p.53.
- ²⁷ Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.145-50; Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* p.82.
- ²⁸ Plumb, *op. cit.* p.241.
- ²⁹ Chinn records an incident of 1936 where one woman who was expecting her first child, on being told how her baby would be born, was so horrified she resolved to leave her husband.
The taboo on discussion of the workings of a woman's body is apparently affirmed by Tinkler's assertion that the subject of menstruation did not appear in girls' magazines until the 1930s.
Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.142-8; Roberts Place, pp.15-9; Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.164.
- ³⁰ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.101.
Moreover, innocence was not confined to the young female. Henry Hartley Fowler, a "singularly guileless man", who knew little about the seamy side of life, once read a novel notorious for its suggestiveness, and, not detecting anything improper, recommended it to several young girls.
Fowler, *Life*, p.605.

³¹ Barbara Brookes, "Women and Reproduction, 1860-1939", in Lewis, ed. *op. cit.* pp.151,149.

The fall in illegitimacy, however, was not constant, as rates rose temporarily during the First World War. This phenomenon, according to Thom, was not due to a rejection of monogamy, but rather to the physical mobility of wartime and the increase in workers living away from home - conditions which resulted in courtships being more speedily sexualised.
Thom, *op. cit.* p.173.

³² Roberts Place, pp.74-6.

Tinkler's magazine advice columns generally showed a sympathetic response to those with illegitimate children if they were devoted to the child: "Many girls like you have paid the penalty of trusting and being deceived. There is little shame if you do your duty by your child, and pick up the threads of your life afresh".

Lucky Star 14 September 1935 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.165.

³³ Edwards, *op. cit.* p.60.

³⁴ John Maynard, *Victorian Discourses on Sexuality and Religion*, (Cambridge, 1983), p.86.

He had a joyful sexual experience within marriage, finding the begetting of his first child "the most delicious moment of his life - up to that time - Since then what greater bliss" (Quoted from letters of Charles Kingsley to his Wife at the British Library, at Add.62552, f. 37v quoted in *ibid.* p.92.). Presumably Mrs Kingsley shared these sentiments.

³⁵ Maynard, *op. cit.* pp.141-4.

³⁶ This organisation, which included among its female members Elizabeth Backwell and Annie Besant, committed itself to "free and unreserved discussion of all matters...connected with the mutual position and relation of men and women...from the historical and scientific as distinguished from the theological standpoint".

Men and Women's Club, minutes, July 1885 in *Pearson Collection* quoted in Lucy Bland, "Marriage Laid Bare : Middle-Class Women and Marital Sex 1880-1914" (hereafter "Marriage") in Lewis ed. *op. cit.* pp.126-7.

³⁷ Sexology is the study and classification of sexual behaviour, identities and relations, the early leading exponents of which included Havelock Ellis. However, the term "sexology" was not coined until the twentieth century and not recognised as a legitimate branch of science until the interwar years.

Since sexual knowledge was perceived as "dangerous", early sexologists were pressured to ensure that their work was circulated only among a small group of experts in the fields of medicine and law. Nevertheless, it was accessed by a wider readership, such as the pre-World War One readership of the journal, *The Freewoman*, who exchanged texts and held discussions on sexological subjects. Lucy Bland & Laura Doan, eds. *Sexology Uncensored : The Documents of Sexual Science* (Oxford, 1998), pp.1-3.

³⁸ This work entered its sixth edition by the end of the year.
Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.179; Bland & Doan, eds. *op. cit.* p.3.

³⁹ In Sarah Grand's *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), an example of the first type of New Woman novel (namely, the purity school, whose shock value lay in attacks on convention), innocent young girls were married off by well meaning parents to dissolute young men infected with venereal disease. A later category of New Woman novel revealed an even more radical approach to women's sexuality and society's norms, exemplified by the sexual awakening of Jessamine, the upper-class heroine of Frances Brooke's *A Superfluous Woman* (1894), in her passion for peasant farmer, Colin. As A R Cunningham asserts, although these novels contained few works of lasting merit, they did constitute the first decisive blow to what Thomas Hardy had called the "insuperable bar" to the portrayal of sexual relationships.

Imprints of the New Woman also appeared elsewhere, such as Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). In this work Lucy Westenra was torn between, on one hand, her conscious and conforming side, which made her feel guilty about her liaison

with the vampire, and, on the other hand, her unconscious desire for freedom from social constraints inherent in the vampiric condition.

Cunningham, *op. cit.* p.186; C A Senf, "'Dracula' : Stoker's Response to the New Woman", *Victorian Studies*, 26 (1) (Autumn 1982), p.43.

⁴⁰ Bland, "Marriage", p.131.

⁴¹ On the death of his first wife in 1862, he transferred his (platonic) devotion to his eldest daughter. Their intimate but entirely spiritual relationship was reflected in the centrality of virginity in his works, an event also fostered by his celibate second marriage.
Maynard, *op. cit.* pp.151-95.

⁴² Quoted in Plumb, *op. cit.* p.259.

Such a situation already existed half a century earlier, exemplified in Charles Dickens' care to conceal the existence of his mistress from the public eye: "The eleventh commandment was the one in respectable circles it was unforgivable to break".

Best, *op. cit.* p.288.

⁴³ For instance, during the Edwardian period in parts of Scotland and Wales bundling, courting in bed, continued with the connivance of the girls' families. Spike Mays recorded that, during this same time, girls in Essex were having sexual experiences before puberty, sometimes with uncles and cousins. The belief that malnourishment was often linked with early sexual maturation, and consequent immorality in the poor lasted into the interwar years.

Writing in the nineteenth century, Frederick Engels believed that the sanctity of the poorer family was often violated by its social "betters". In the case of the mill owner, "If his [namely, the factory operative's] wife or daughter finds favour in the eyes of the master, a command, a hint suffices, and she must place herself at his disposal".

Spike Mays, *Reuben's Corner*, (1969), p.66 quoted in Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.58; B B Lindsay and W Evans, *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, (1928), p.148 quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.173; Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845, 1969 edition), p.208.

⁴⁴ In total 875 cases were investigated for the period 1850-1970. Social classification used was as follows:

Upper class - peers and gentry.

Middle class - professionals, business people, large farmers.

Lower middle class - small shopkeepers, master workers, middling farmers.

Working class - those who worked for wages in industry, domestic servants and tenant farmers.

Lower working class - casual workers, paupers, criminals.

Frost asserts, "It was the lower middle and upper working classes that staged productions of breach of promise trials as melodramas, making the actual cases anything but dull".

Frost, *op. cit.* pp.8,24,98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp.97-100

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp.100-13

Frost reports that the courts dealt sympathetically with those they perceived as innocent women, who had been deceived into losing their virtue by fiancés who did not honour their promises. However juries were less generous towards sexually experienced women, especially widows, whom they viewed as predatory - looking for the next husband, or older women, who were perceived as mature and wise enough to fend off improper advances. In her current research Marie-Claire Balaam detects suspicion regarding marriage and sex in relation to older women - the contemporary attitude being, if the purpose of marriage and sex was reproduction, then why did these women wish to marry?

Frost contends that other reasons (besides the double standard of morality) why relationships failed to reach their matrimonial goals included financial factors and long separations between partners.

Letter from Marie-Claire Balaam to J D S Williams 12 April 2001 (hereafter *Letter*); Frost, *op. cit.* pp.100-13.

⁴⁷ William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Youth, in Adult Age, and in Advanced Life Considered in Their Physiological, Social, and Psychological Relations* (1862 edition), p.53 quoted in P T Cominos, "Late-Victorian Respectability and the Social System", *International Review of Social History*, VIII (1976) (hereafter "Late"), pp.231-2.

⁴⁸ As late as 1895 Edith Lanchester, a socialist living in Battersea with her mechanic lover, was committed by her father and brother to the authority of Dr G Fielding Blandford, who judged her insane "because he believed her opposition to conventional matrimony made her unfit to take care of herself".

H D Sears, *The Sex Radicals : Free Love in Victorian America* (Kansas, 1977) p.87 quoted in Elaine Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity", *Victorian Studies*, 23 (2) (Winter 1980) (hereafter "Victorian"), p.174.

Balaam points out that women who remained sexually active in their post menopausal years might also have their sanity questioned. In 1910 the leading psychologist G H Savage pronounced:

"A lady might have her power of calculation and reasoning intact, but if she left home and did many strange things indicating a tendency to lust one would recognise symptoms indicating insanity".

G H Savage, "Insanity on a Disorder of Conduct", *The Medico-Psychological Association of Great Britain and Ireland, Lancet*, 11 June 1910, p.1620 quoted in Marie-Clare Balaam, "Representations of Menopause and Menopausal Women in Turn of the Century British Medical Journals", *Women's History Notebooks*, 7(1) (Winter 2000) (hereafter "Representations"), p.12.

⁴⁹ Showalter, "Victorian", p.175.

⁵⁰ The NVA had been set up by social purists in order to ensure the enforcement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 which gave police greater power to suppress brothels, proscribed homosexuality, and raised the age of sexual consent to 16. There was much support within the NVA for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. It also campaigned against immoral literature, the white slave trade and child abuse. However, its actions and attitudes were criticised by other social reformers. For instance, its suppression of brothels took no accounts of the fate of prostitutes who were being forced back to face the dangers of the streets.

For further details of the Criminal Law a Amendment Act and activities of the National Vigilance Association, set up by social purists to enforce this legislation see:

Lucy Bland, "Feminist Vigilantes of Late-Victorian England" (hereafter "Feminist") in Smart, ed.

⁵¹ *London Medical Review*, VIII, (3) (Sept. 1862), 145 quoted in Branca, op. cit. p.125.

This assertion was reinforced, Branca asserts, by efforts of many middle-class women to retain their sexual attraction by use of skin restorers, hair dyes and corsets.

Balaam's investigations have also revealed a complexity of views concerning female sexuality - attitudes included the belief that women had no sexual feelings, that their sexual feelings had been sublimated into maternity, or that they had sexual feelings, which differed from those of men.

In Havelock Ellis' widely read and reprinted *Man and Woman* (1894) he acknowledged that women were as sexual as men, nevertheless, he contended that they were more passive. This condition arose as a result of that which maintained the natural harmony between the sexes, namely, the "natural laws", one of which was female modesty.

Branca, op. cit. p.128; Letter; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman* (1894) quoted in Bland & Doan, eds. op. cit. p.13.

⁵² Edith Ellis advocated a period of trial cohabitation before marriage to test compatibility. Her own marriage to Havelock Ellis was based on "affectionate comradeship, guaranteeing sexual freedom to both". These sentiments appeared to be endorsed by Vera Brittain, in whose opinion, "Hitherto monogamy has resembled liberty in one respect only, that a large proportion of the crimes of society have been committed in its name". William Morris favoured the abolition of the double standard of morality, women no longer being condemned for "following their natural desires in an illegal way". Mona Caird, saw marriage as "legalised prostitution". Eleanor Marx advocated a Socialist society which

would place relationships between the sexes on a private footing "without the intervention of any public functionary", alliances which would not be the "barter marriages, with the one-sided polygamy of our own time". Methodist personal accounts revealed scant evidence of rejection of traditional marriage, but a notable exception lies in Ruth Slate. In December 1918 she gave way to family pressure, marrying her lover, Hugh, only in order to avoid a scandal. Edith Ellis, "A Novitiate for Marriage" in Edith Ellis, *The New Horizon*, (1892), p.5 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.175; Vera Brittain, "The Failure of Monogamy", in Norman Haire, ed. *Proceedings of the Third Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform*, 1929 (1930) quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.177; William Morris, *News from Nowhere; or An Epoch of Rest*, (1891) in S G Bell & Karen Offen eds. *Women the Family, and Freedom : Debates in Documents*, Volume Two, 1880-1950 (Stanford, California, 1983), p.115; Mona Caird, "Marriage", *Westminster Review*, 130 (2) (August 1888), 186-201 quoted in Levine, "So", p.170; Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling, "The Woman Question : From a Socialist Point of View", *Westminster Review*, p.125 (January-April 1886), quoted in Cunningham, *op. cit.* p.84; Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.308.

⁵³ Chinn, *op. cit.* p.148.

This finding was reinforced by Robert Roberts' account of working-class life in Salford, where conversation between brassmoulders elicited an opinion that sexual relations within marriage were "as exciting as posting a letter", and revealed the activity of one enterprising wife who charged sixpence per session. In Paul Thompson's opinion these reports hardly present a picture of open sexual spontaneity.

In fact, this view of the respectable woman eschewing sexuality apparently lasted in some quarters well into the interwar years, exemplified in female popular fiction, a 1930 example of which featured the "bewitching" Carla Jenson's "poisoned kisses".

Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, (Manchester, 1971 edition), p.38 quoted in Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.57; "The Passionate Kisses of Carla Jenson", *Poppy's Paper*, (January 1930) quoted in Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.175.

⁵⁴ Davidoff, *Best*, p.82.

It may be argued that the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869, by showing no concern for women infected by diseased men, by publicly defining, and thus separating prostitutes from their surrounding community and by ignoring the mistresses of commissioned officers, officially sanctioned the double standard in relation to both gender and class. In the second part of the nineteenth century prostitution was perceived by respectable society as a threat to the sanctity of the family life, a sin which was symbolically absolved by the laundry work inflicted on inmates of the many asylums and refuges set up for the redemption of fallen women.

Vociferous public pressure for reform came in the wake of W T Stead's 1885 revelation of how he had "purchased" Eliza Armstrong, a working-class girl. In much of the (middle-class) reform rhetoric prostitutes were portrayed as weak, passive, innocent victims of individual evil men. Judith Walkowitz and Chinn both found working-class attitudes towards prostitution varied from fear that their activities might threaten social order, to a more sympathetic stance, whereby prostitution was seen as a strategy for survival. Walkowitz suggests that prostitutes tended to psychologically compartmentalise their lives, practically preventing their profession from "contaminating" the rest of their existence. This apparent conflict with middle-class morality refutes imagery of passive victimisation, a viewpoint reinforced by Paula Bartley's description of the nineteenth century perception of prostitutes as "sexual contaminants".

Cominos, "Late", p.47; Judith Walkowitz, "The Making of an Outcast Group : Prostitutes and Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Plymouth and Southampton" in Vicinus, *op. cit.* pp.73-9,83; Brian Harrison, "Underneath the Victorians", *Victorian Studies*, X (1967), p.256; Paula Bartley, "'Seeking and Saving' : The Reform of Prostitutes and the Prevention of Prostitution in Birmingham 1860-1914" (Unpublished PhD thesis University of Wolverhampton, 1995), pp.32,123,135,141; Leonora Davidoff, "Mastered for Life : Servant and Wife in Victorian and Edwardian England", *Journal of Social History*, 4 (1970-1) (hereafter "Mastered"), 413; Deborah Gorham, "The 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' Re-examined : Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late Victorian England", *Victorian Studies*, 21 (3) (Spring 1978) (hereafter *Maid*).

⁵⁵ J Ashworth, "Young Women, Wives and Mothers" in Calman, *op. cit.* p.315.

As previously stated in footnote 214 in Chapter Two, Ashworth's lectures are not dated, but it is assumed that they dated from the 1860s and early 1870s.

⁵⁶ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.60.

⁵⁷ JRL, Rev. Joseph Bush, *Courtship and Marriage : A Lecture* (1863), MAW, Pa 1863, p.6.

⁵⁸ JRL Rev T W Blanshard, *Courtship and Marriage* (Leeds, 1873), MAW Pa 1873,11, p.7.

⁵⁹ Ecclesiastes 3:1 quoted in Bush, *op. cit.* pp.6-7 and Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.6.

⁶⁰ Acton, *op. cit.* p.53 quoted in Cominos, "Late", p.38.

⁶¹ Hughes, *op. cit.* p.110.

⁶² Arthur Boyne, "Julia", *Primitive Methodist*, new ser. XIV (1915), p.41.

⁶³ Roberts, *Place*, p.73.

⁶⁴ It is not clear when the couple met, but Thomas mentioned Ethel in the earliest volume of his diary:

Entry for 28 Jan 1907 - "Ethel went home".

Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper Written by Himself* (1879), p.95; Hughes, *op. cit.* pp.101-2; Tyrrell, *op. cit.* p.196; Wright, *op. cit.*

In addition, one Methodist subject investigated by Elizabeth Roberts, Mr ClP, married in 1914 after a courtship of nine years. However, in this instance the employment of Mr ClP as a Methodist subject is problematical. It is known that, as a child, he was brought up in a Methodist family, but at some unspecified stage in adulthood he became a atheist.

Mr ClP in "Transcripts", pp.87-8,94.

⁶⁵ Meadley, *op. cit.* pp. 99-100,128.

⁶⁶ Raymont's wife left three small children behind when she died in 1902. The widowed Isaac Holden, father of four children, married the widow Sarah Sugden in 1850. Emerson Bainbridge's first wife died after 18 years of marriage in 1892. McCarthy's mother remarried in 1915. The father of William Lax remarried in the 1870s, when Lax was six years old. A S Peake was 10 years of age when his mother died. His father remarried in the 1870s. James Rank remarried in the mid-nineteenth century when Joseph was young. Birkett's father remarried in 1888, when Birkett was aged four.

Raymont, *op. cit.* p.14; Jennings, *op. cit.* 121-2; Airey, *op. cit.* p.99; McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.39; Lax, *op. cit.* pp.21-2; Wilkinson, *op. cit.* p.3; Burnett, Rank, pp.14-5; Hyde, *op. cit.* p.7.

⁶⁷ Fowler, *Farringtons*, p.46.

⁶⁸ Barker, *Bucks*, p.32.

⁶⁹ Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.85-9.

⁷⁰ This sentiment is borne out by the lyrics of Marie Loftus' music hall song, "I think we would all prefer / marriage and strife/ Than be on the shelf/ and nobody's wife". In 1913 Ethel Snowden emphasised the desperate economic condition of the working-class spinster: "The plain unvarnished truth is that work open to women is not sufficient in amount or sufficiently well paid to enable them to live in a condition of ordinary comfort and decency". Jones, "Work", p.492; Perkin, *op. cit.* p.174.

⁷¹ Tinkler, *op. cit.* p.153; J J Matthews, "Building the Body Beautiful", *Australian Feminist Studies*, 5 (Summer 1987), 26 quoted in *ibid* p.153.

⁷² Thompson, "Courtship", p.39.

⁷³ "Social superfluities" was a term used by a "reverend gentleman" who took the chair at a meeting on behalf of the Higher Education of Women in 1875. By the end of the nineteenth century in England and Wales there were one million more women than men. In 1901 14 per cent of women at the age of 45 were not married.

Mrs William Grey, *Old Maids : A Lecture* (1875), pp.3-4 quoted in Levine, "So", p.168; J F C Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901* (1990) (hereafter *Late*), p.165; Thompson, *Respectable*, p.91.

⁷⁴ Such hostility was exemplified by a letter in *Punch* in 1880 which derided Lydia Becker, the Manchester suffrage activist and campaigner for married women's property rights: "We are content to leave our rights to our Husbands and Brothers; and if you could find Miss Becker and her compeers a husband Each, through your advertising columns, you would confer a benefit on Society". Levine contends that such hostility was shown in the face of a growing comradeship between middle-class feminists, fostered by the growth of women's social clubs and reading rooms (which, being exclusively for women, eliminated the need for chaperonage) in the last third of the nineteenth century. She has calculated that there were about 24 such congenial meeting places in London. In addition, her study of 200 feminist activists revealed that only 82 married. However, there was no apparent evidence of hostility towards married members within the women's movement, thus contradicting a male/female dichotomy. In fact, pressure from within the women's movement in 1874 obliged the pregnant Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Ben Elmy to formalise their relationship.

Letter from "A Lancashire Witch", *Punch* 77 (7 February 1880), 58 quoted in Levine "So", p.153; Philippa Levine, "Love, Friendship and Feminism in Later Nineteenth-Century England", *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13 (1990) (hereafter "Love"), p.72; Levine, "So", pp.154,173; S S Holton, "Free Love and Victorian Feminism : The Divers Matrimonials of Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Ben Elmy", *Victorian Studies*, 37 (1) (Autumn 1993), p.214.

⁷⁵ Rosaline Masson, "Dark Stars", *Time and Tide*, (11 March 1921), 226-7 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.32.

The failed libel action of dancer Maude Allan to counter the charge that she was a lesbian in 1918, and the obscenity trial surrounding the novel *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928, also helped to fuel suspicion of unmarried women. In popular women's magazines single, older women were depicted as unattractive, their sexuality increasingly challenged. Tinkler, *op. cit.* pp.38,158.

⁷⁶ Davidoff contends that, "Marriage was considered not so much an alliance between the sexes as an important social definition; serious for a man but imperative for a woman". In his novel *The Old Wives' Tale*, published in 1911, Arnold Bennett effectively portrayed the pathetic plight of spinster teacher, Miss Chetwynd (a "pinched virgin, aged forty", and not "well off"), whose lack of a securely defined position in society obliged her to strive to survive by avoiding giving offence to her fellow human beings:

"Her life was one ceaseless effort to avoid doing anything which might influence her charges for evil or shock the sensitiveness of their parents. She had to wind her earthly way through a forest of the most delicate susceptibilities - fern-fronds that stretched across the path, and that she must not even accidentally disturb with her skirt as she passed". Davidoff, *Best*, p.50; Arnold Bennett, *The Old Wives Tale* (1911, New York, 1975 edition) (hereafter *Old*), p.67.

⁷⁷ As F M L Thompson points out, it was at Victorian tea parties that "the peopling of the marriage market was decided". Thompson, *Respectable*, p.103.

⁷⁸ Jones "Work", p.492.

⁷⁹ 1 Corinthians 7:2 quoted in Blanshard *op. cit.* p.4.

⁸⁰ Bush, *op. cit.* p.3.

⁸¹ Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.4.

- ⁸² Bush, *op. cit.* p.35.
- ⁸³ The Census of 1881 revealed one million more women than men in Great Britain, many of whom were destined never to marry. Roberts, *Work*, p.5.
- ⁸⁴ "The Ladies Corner", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IV (1905), pp.60-1.
- ⁸⁵ *Methodist Recorder*, 14 Jan 1932, p.25.
- ⁸⁶ In discussing marriage among the early Methodists, Rack refutes the contention of critics, such as E P Thompson, that religious conversion destroyed the natural desire for matrimony by acting as a repression of sexual urges and as an aid for work discipline. John Wesley often discouraged his followers from marrying (for instance, in his *Thoughts on Marriage and the Single Life* (1743)), perceiving marriage as incompatible with perfection, and a deflection of time, effort and money from the work of God and the service of others. Nevertheless, his motives for opposition included an element of financial considerations - preachers received no remuneration until the late 1750s - and then only £12 per annum with no allowance for wives. In fact, Wesley amended his stance on marriage in the revised version of the above work, published in 1748, a time when he was considering marriage to Grace Murray. In old age, however, he reverted to his former stance - attributing his youthful lapse to a waning love of God. Although his followers did not tend to share their leader's antipathy towards matrimony, many male preachers did not marry, or delayed marrying until late in life. But finances usually played a major part in their decision. In addition, female adherents to the movement sometimes rejected marriage on the grounds that they would lose the freedom to follow their chosen religious practices. Rack also suggests that Wesley advised some of his most intimate female correspondents to avoid matrimony out of self interest - fearing that he might lose influence over them as they transferred allegiance to their husbands.
H D Rack, "'But, Lord, Let it be Betsy!': Love and Marriage in Early Methodism", *Wesley Historical Proceedings*, 53, (February 2001) (hereafter "Marriage"), pp.1-13.
- ⁸⁷ Thompson, *Edwardians*, pp.54-5.
- ⁸⁸ In the one at Fishergate young people from the upper-working or lower-middle classes paraded in their Sunday Best. At Avenham and Millar Parks paraders were expected to be "tidy". But Moor Park accommodated even the unemployed. Dance halls could also dictate the social stratum of a potential mate: "Park Ballroom was fairly decent, if you went to the Regent...They were all a better-class people that went".
Thompson, "Courtship", pp.42-4.
- ⁸⁹ Mitchell, *ed. op. cit.* p.83.
- ⁹⁰ Moreover, they were even able to influence her choice at times - at one stage successfully bribing her with a new dress if she gave up her current beau.
Mrs B2P in "Transcripts", p.3.
- ⁹¹ Roberts, *Place*, pp.72-3.
- ⁹² John Vaughan, "Domestic Happiness", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1885), p.403.
- ⁹³ James Learmount, "Love, Courtship, and Married Life : 1 - Love", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLIII (1920) (hereafter "Love"), p.314.
- ⁹⁴ Bush, *op. cit.* p.16.
- ⁹⁵ Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.9.
- ⁹⁶ For further details see Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.93-112.

- ⁹⁷ At the other extreme of the social spectrum the aristocracy was infiltrated by new wealth from home and abroad, between 1870 and 1914 the daughters of financiers, bankers and industrialists forming about five per cent of peerage brides. However, Thompson points out that many of the American marriage partners (forming about 10 per cent of peerage brides in this period) came from the equivalent of the American aristocracy, the cultural and monied elite. So, such alliances signified a crumbling of national rather than social barriers. Consequently, the overall impact of this dilution on this class "was no more than a slight liberalisation".
Ibid. p.108.
- ⁹⁸ Arch married in 1847; Mitchell married in 1895; Taylor married in 1921. Arch, *op. cit.* p.46; Mitchell, *ed. op. cit.* p.11; Mansfield, *op. cit.* p.18.
- ⁹⁹ Chapman, *op. cit.* p.34.
- ¹⁰⁰ The Wesleyan chapel attended by Boot apparently acted as a channel for his social advancement, a situation not confined to the Methodist Connexion. In his study of Wigan Churches of Christ (for the period c.1845-1945) Peter Ackers detected a similar phenomenon in the Rodney Street Chapel, centrally situated in the West End of Wigan. From its inception this chapel displayed a congregation of superior composition (which included local manufacturers and tradesmen as well as manual workers) and a more defined social hierarchy than its sister chapels in the surrounding coal fields. Though all of the churches were vehicles for self-improvement, Rodney Street "became a vehicle for leaving the working class", whereas the coal field chapels tended more to facilitate the acquisition of positions of responsibility in political and industrial institutions.
Peter Ackers, "West End Chapel, Back Street Bethel : Labour and Capital in the Wigan Churches of Christ c.1845-1945", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47 (2) (April 1996), pp.35-6.
- ¹⁰¹ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.89.
- ¹⁰² Branca, *op. cit.* p.45.
- ¹⁰³ Thompson, *Respectable*, p.99.
- ¹⁰⁴ Thompson, "Courtship", pp.41-2.
- ¹⁰⁵ Jennings, *op. cit.* pp.121-2.
- ¹⁰⁶ Lee, *op. cit.* p.628.
- ¹⁰⁷ Vickers, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ¹⁰⁸ The couple married in 1857 after a lengthy courtship.
Fowler, *Life*, p.22.
- ¹⁰⁹ Hyde, *op. cit.* pp.6-7.
- ¹¹⁰ Bush, *op. cit.* pp.12,40.
- ¹¹¹ Vaughan, *op. cit.* p.405.
- ¹¹² Bush, *op. cit.* pp.20-1.
The theme of hygiene in the production of puddings appeared to be popular. A decade later Blanshard admonished, "If her fingernails are in deep mourning...you can imagine how palatable your future puddings will be".
Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.10.
- ¹¹³ Bush, *op. cit.* p.25.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.15.
- ¹¹⁵ Blanshard, *op. cit.* pp.8-9.

- ¹¹⁶ Vaughan, *op. cit.* p.404.
- ¹¹⁷ Airey, *op. cit.* pp.99-100.
- ¹¹⁸ Bush, *op. cit.* p.17.
- ¹¹⁹ Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.10.
- ¹²⁰ Learmount, "Love, Courtship, Marriage and Married Life : 2 - Courtship", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLIII (1920) (hereafter "Courtship"), p.379.
- ¹²¹ Bush, *op. cit.* pp.26,37-8.
For further comment on eugenics see Chapter Two.
- ¹²² Blanshard, *op. cit.* p.10.
- ¹²³ Arch, *op. cit.* pp.46-7.
- ¹²⁴ Entry for 25 Feb 1912 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹²⁵ "...although she didn't say so, I thought she didn't care for me objecting to it".
Entry for 10 Mar 1912 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹²⁶ Many dissenting marriages entailed business and family contacts and considerations, as witnessed by the marriage strategies of the Barclays, Frys and Cadburys.
Thompson, *Respectable*, pp.100-4.
- ¹²⁷ This phenomenon was exemplified by the instance of a Catholic man marrying his pregnant non-Catholic girlfriend. The latter was never forgiven by the groom's parents, who only welcomed back their son back into the family after the death of his wife who died giving birth to their second child.
Thompson, "Courtship", p.40.
- ¹²⁸ In 1888 Preston married Sarah Baxter, organist and Sunday-School teacher at the chapel where Preston was also a Sunday-School teacher. Thompson met his future wife through a mutual friend, the Reverend Alexander M'Auley, in the 1880s. Weatherhead married a minister's daughter in 1919. Flew's future wife was a student at Winchmore Hill Collegiate School where he was a minister. They were married in 1921. The parents of Basil Willey met in Methodist circles in the 1890s. John Boot married Mary Mills, whom he met at the Wesleyan chapel in Nottingham, in 1848. Henderson met his wife, Eleanor, through the chapel. Carter and his brother both met their wives through chapel activities in the 1890s.
Greenland, *op. cit.* p.31; Thompson, *Peter*, p.27; Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.51; Wakefield, *op. cit.* pp.67-8; Willey, *op. cit.* p.13; Chapman, *op. cit.* p.34; Leventhal, *op. cit.* pp.2-3; Carter, *op. cit.* p.27.
- ¹²⁹ Whitlock, *op. cit.* p.87.
- ¹³⁰ Brooks, *op. cit.* I pp.153-4.
- ¹³¹ Philip married Martha in 1868. Thomas married Susanna in 1873.
Airey, *op. cit.* pp.28,38.
- ¹³² Lidgett, *op. cit.* p.7.
- ¹³³ Moss, *op. cit.* p.20; Ashby, *op. cit.* p.104; McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.39.
- ¹³⁴ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.57.
- ¹³⁵ J P Langham, writing in 1910, apparently condoned the avoidance by the early Primitive Methodists of Tunstall of marriage outside their sect: "They were trying to build a city of saints; and how could they tolerate their maidens making alliance with one of the outside world". However, he was referring to a period prior to that covered by this thesis, and made no reference to contemporary inter-denominational marriages.

- J P Langham, *The Tunstall Book : A Souvenir of One Hundred Years of Grace* (1910), p.93.
- ¹³⁶ JRL, William Brailsford, *Christian Marriages, A Sermon* (1841), MAW Pa 1841.50, pp.6,7,16.
- ¹³⁷ Bush, *op. cit.* p.29.
- ¹³⁸ Learmount, "Courtship", p.445.
- ¹³⁹ Russell, *op. cit.* p.15.
- ¹⁴⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.66-7.
- ¹⁴¹ Hawker, *op. cit.* p.9.
- ¹⁴² McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ¹⁴³ "Memoir of Mrs Elizabeth Banks", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. I (1855), p.976.
- ¹⁴⁴ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.51.
- ¹⁴⁵ Roberts, *Place*, p.82.
- ¹⁴⁶ James Learmount, "Love, Courtship, Marriage and Married Life : 2 - Courtship", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLIII (1920), p.445.
- ¹⁴⁷ Willetts, *op. cit.* I pp.29-30.
- ¹⁴⁸ Mitchell, *ed. op. cit.* pp.29-30.
- ¹⁴⁹ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.59-60.
- ¹⁵⁰ Airey, *op. cit.* p.87.
- ¹⁵¹ Entries for 3 Aug 1914; 5 Sept 1914; 4 Dec 1915 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵² Entry for 2 June 1917 in *ibid.*
- ¹⁵³ See Chapter Three for discussion of the rising material wealth enjoyed by some Methodists.
- ¹⁵⁴ Airey, *op. cit.* p.57.
For discussion of the Bainbridge family's rise to riches, see Chapter Three.
- ¹⁵⁵ Others refused to abandon their own surname on marriage (for example Millicent Garret Fawcett), or refused to promise obedience during the marriage ceremony (as in the case of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson).
Levine, "So", pp.156-9.
- ¹⁵⁶ F P Cobbe, "Wife-Torture in England", *Contemporary Review* 32 (1878), pp.55-7, 62; quoted in Levine, "So", pp.165-6.
- ¹⁵⁷ Carol Smart asserts, "Marriage was a major signifier in the process of constructing the meaning of Woman in legal discourse in the latter part of the nineteenth century".
Carol Smart, "Disruptive Bodies and Unruly Sex : the Regulation of Reproduction and Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century" in Smart, *ed. Regulating Womanhood*, (1992), p.24.
- ¹⁵⁸ Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.195.
The pre-1857 situation, whereby ecclesiastical courts merely provided for separation from bed and board (divorce *a mensa et thoro*), thus prohibiting remarriage, made divorce impossible for any except those, who were able to finance the required private Act of Parliament which would give an absolute divorce (*a vinculo matrimonii*). In Dickens' *Hard Times* the would-be petitioner Stephen Blackpool, a humble Weaver of impeccable virtue, married to a gross

drunkard, was told by lawyer Mr Bounderby that the cost for divorce would be "from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds....Perhaps twice the money". The 1856 parliamentary debates on the Divorce Bill reaffirmed the double standard of morality in their greater condemnation of adultery in women than in men. Shanley detected "an undercurrent of fear concerning the socially disruptive potential of unrestrained sexuality" in women if new legislation were to be passed.

Shanley, *op. cit.* pp.364-6; A J Hammerton, "Victorian Marriage and the Law of Matrimonial Cruelty", *Victorian Studies*, 33 (2) (Winter 1990), pp.272-3; Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854), Book I, Chap. 11 quoted in J D Baird, "'Divorce and Matrimonial Causes' : An Aspect of 'Hard Times'", *Victorian Studies*, XX (4) (Summer 1977), p.409;

¹⁵⁹ Exemplified in John Galsworthy's *The Patrician* in which Mrs Audrey Noel, separated from her husband, had "the conviction that to a woman the preciousness of her reputation was a fiction invented by men entirely for men's benefit: a second hand fetish insidiously, inevitably set up by men to worship, in novels, plays and law courts. Her instinct told her that men could not feel secure in the possession of their women unless they could believe that women set tremendous store by sexual reputation". John Galsworthy, *The Patrician* (1911), p.111 quoted in Crow, *op. cit.* p.111.

¹⁶⁰ There were 300 cases pending by January 1859. Baird, *op. cit.* 406.

¹⁶¹ Prior to 1870 the common law doctrine of coverture, or spousal unity, decreed that married women had no separate legal identity apart from her husband, and robbed the former of rights over her own real and personal property. The prohibitive costs of setting up prenuptial agreements, based upon the principles of equity, whereby property could be designated as a wife's "separate property" under her control, confined them to the realm of the wealthiest in society.

The 1870 Married Women's Property Act protected savings acquired by married women after the Act, but failed to protect that acquired prior to marriage or the Act. Amendments to this legislation followed during the 1870s. In 1882 a further Act by which women marrying on or after 1 January 1883 (when the Act came into effect) were to have as their separate property all property from whatever source which she owned at the time of her marriage, or acquired after her marriage.

Shanley, *op. cit.* p.359; Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property" (hereafter "Victorian") in Vicinus, ed. *op. cit.* pp.7,22-4 ; Holcombe, *Wives*, pp.179-80,222-3.

¹⁶² Judge Wilde affirmed, "The law, no doubt, recognises the husband as ruler, protector and guide of his wife". According to Hammerton, the evolution of the companionate marriage reflecting, "a subtle interplay between marital experience, ideology and the law", was uneven and incomplete, since, throughout the Victorian period, "marriage remained a confused amalgam of inconsistent ideals - patriarchal and companionate - each based upon an illusory identity of incompatible interests".

Hammerton, *op. cit.* pp.271,288,291-2.

¹⁶³ Although *The Angel* was the spirit of love in Coventry Patmore's most famous work, *Angel in the House*, it came to embody the ideal of respectable Victorian womanhood - a passive being on a pedestal, embodying spiritual love, beauty, and virtue, whose power was accorded only through a chivalric code of honour, which endowed the Victorian gentleman with a sense of *noblesse oblige* towards women, children and other social inferiors. But, as Mona Caird asserted, this so-called power "is but power that is won by smiles and wiles and womanly devices; and when won, is hers not by right but by favour. This is the power, not of a free being, but of a favourite slave".

Jeffrey Richards contends that, because of its sexual element, marriage was considered by Victorian society to be inferior to "manly love", a concept which drew upon Ancient Greek and Medieval legacies, "a genuine spiritual bond between two good men", "transcendent and free from base desire".

Cominos "Late", *op. cit.* p.243; Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage, and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Women* (1897), p.118 quoted in Dyhouse

Feminism, p.153; Jeffrey Richards, "'Passing the Love of Women' : Manly Love and Victorian Society" in Mangan & Walvin, eds. op. cit. pp.97,93.

¹⁶⁴ Davidoff, "Mastered", 406.

¹⁶⁵ Vera Brittain, *Thrice a Stranger* (1938), p.25.

¹⁶⁶ The transmission of sexual disease from husbands to wives was linked with this subjection of women in many contemporary minds. Christobel Pankhurst's allegation that 75 to 85 per cent of men entered marriage infected with venereal disease, has often been dismissed as "hysteric". However, Gail Savage contends that, of those cases brought before the Divorce Court between 1858 and 1901, there was an annual rate of between 2.5 and 12.57 per cent in which accusations of wives being infected by husbands were made. Such a proportion constituted a "distinct and recognisable" aspect of the Court's business. Gail Savage, "'The Wilful Communication of a Loathsome Disease' : Marital Conflict and Venereal Disease in Victorian England", *Victorian Studies*, 34 (2) (Autumn 1990), pp.36,42; Christobel Pankhurst, "A Woman's Question" in *Plain Facts About a Great Evil* (1913) quoted in Bell & Offen, eds. op. cit p.219.

¹⁶⁷ According to the *Saturday Review* of 1871, "They do not calculate consequences, and they are reckless when they once give way; hence they are to be kept straight only through their affections, the religious sentiment, and wee-educated moral sense". In the opinion of the *Lancet*, "The logical, philosophical, scientific woman is not the ordinary type; she frequently...departs from it in her physical as well as mental characteristics".

Studies done on brains by comparative anatomists were used by anthropologists and other writers to suggest that women evolved at different rates, and in different ways. The smaller size and weight of the female brain indicated an inferior intelligence. It was also believed, the more sophisticated the society, the greater difference between the sexes.

"The British Mother Taking Alarm", *Saturday Review* 32 (1871), 335; "Miss Becker on the Mental Characteristics of the Sexes", *The Lancet* (1868), 321; both quoted in Burstyn, op. cit. pp.74,72,75-6.

¹⁶⁸ By 1872 31,822 out of a total of 58,640 certified lunatics in England and Wales were women. This event was paralleled by a rise in the number of specialists in "female illnesses" of hysteria and neurasthenia. Showalter, "Victorian", p.161.

¹⁶⁹ Andrew Scull has noted that contemporary observers commented upon the laxer standards used for judging a poor person insane. Showalter detects a possible connection between Poor Law administration and number of women committed, entitlement for outdoor relief being judged upon respectability rather than need. Thus many families, robbed of a breadwinner either by desertion, death or imprisonment of a husband, were refused relief. Consequently, many women denied support may have been driven into mental illness by stress. But, other factors may also apply. The improved accommodation provided by county asylums may have lessened reluctance of poor families to have female members committed, more accommodation for women may have been made available (asylums were strictly segregated), or families may have been more reluctant to have male relatives, as potential breadwinners, stigmatised by certification. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century there was also growing concern by organisations, such as the Lunacy Law Amendment Society, for those of the upper and middle classes who had been incarcerated in private asylums by relatives with unscrupulous financial motives.

Andrew Scull, "Museums of Madness" (unpublished PhD thesis University of Princeton, 1974) II, p.602 in *ibid.* pp.161-2; Showalter "Victorian", p.162; Peter McCandless, "Dangerous to Themselves and Others : the Victorian Debate over the Prevention of Wrongful Confinement", *Journal of British Studies*, XXIII (1) (Fall 1983), pp.84-104.

¹⁷⁰ In the case of 16 year old Constance Kent, who in 1860 was (probably falsely) accused of murdering her half brother *The Times* attributed the crime to her psychological state - she was at a time of life when girls were prone to cruelty due to physiological changes. *The Times*, 37 April 1865 in Hartman, op. cit. p.243.

- ¹⁷¹ Puerperal insanity amounted to 10 per cent of asylum admissions, an attitude which lasted into the next century, as witnessed by the 1922 Infanticide Act, which declared all mothers to be potentially insane during the first few months after giving birth.
Showalter, "Victorian", *op. cit.* p.171; Ann R Higginbotham, "'Sin of the Age' : Infanticide and Illegitimacy in Victorian London", *Victorian Studies*, 32 (2) (Winter 1989), p.337.
- ¹⁷² Balaam, "Representations", pp.11-3.
Subheadings in medical textbooks included "Ovarian Insanity" and "Old Maid's Mania", the latter referring to the deluded passion of the spinster "for some casual acquaintance of the opposite sex who the victim believes to be deeply in love with her".
T S Clouston, *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*, (1898), p.527 quoted in Showalter, "Victorian", p.172.
- ¹⁷³ Bush, *op. cit.* p.42
- ¹⁷⁴ "Practical Papers : Bible Thought About Women", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Magazine*, VIII (1873), p.126.
- ¹⁷⁵ "Some People are Rude", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, new ser. XIV (1890), p.287.
- ¹⁷⁶ Bax, *op. cit.* p.197.
- ¹⁷⁷ See page 229 for the comments of Joseph Arch and Thomas Wright.
- ¹⁷⁸ Mr ClP in "Transcripts", p.13; Willey, *op. cit.* p.12.
- ¹⁷⁹ Green, *op. cit.* p.8.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIX (1920), p.72.
- ¹⁸¹ Macdonald, *op. cit.* p.58.
- ¹⁸² Meadley, *op. cit.* p.19.
- ¹⁸³ Burnett, Rank, p.102.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ashby, *op. cit.* p.98.
- ¹⁸⁵ George Parkinson, *True Stories of Durham Pit-Life* (1912), p.120.
- ¹⁸⁶ In 1902-3 in London 57 per cent of the Wesleyan and 43 per cent of the Primitive Methodist congregations were women.
McLeod, *Religion*, p.67.
- ¹⁸⁷ These conditions included the obtaining of permission from or the responding to request of the Superintendent or Quarterly Meeting. In addition, women were only to preach to their own sex - this condition was only reversed in 1910.
Minutes of the Wesleyan Conference 1803 (1862 edition), p.187 quoted in Graham, thesis, p.44.
- ¹⁸⁸ 1 Corinthians 11:5
This same article also quotes 1 Corinthians 16. 34:35 : "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in Church".
"Practical Thoughts : Bible Thought about Women", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), pp.126,128.
- ¹⁸⁹ See Graham, thesis, p.44-5 for more details.

- ¹⁹⁰ By 1931 there were 780 fully accredited women local preachers within the Primitive Methodist Connexion, a disproportionately higher figure than the 642 belonging to the Wesleyans. *Minutes of the Wesleyan Conference 1932*, p.250 quoted in Graham, thesis, p.68; Richardson, *op. cit.* pp.3-4. The ideology of the domestic sphere being that belonging to women is discussed later in this chapter.
- ¹⁹¹ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VII (1849), p.58.
- ¹⁹² John Barford, "Gleanings Concerning the Late Mrs Sarah Bembridge, The First Female Travelling Preacher in Primitive Methodism, With Glances at the Early Men and Movements of the Connexion", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IV (1881), p.163.
- ¹⁹³ Graham, thesis, p.70.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*, VII (1885) in *ibid.* pp.241-5.
- ¹⁹⁵ Graham, thesis, pp.288-9.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.286.
- ¹⁹⁷ Langham, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁹⁸ Graham, thesis, p.290
- ¹⁹⁹ *The Primitive Methodist Leader*, 24 January 1907, p.49 quoted in *ibid.*
- ²⁰⁰ H Jeffs, "Our Women and the Centenary", *The Primitive Methodist Leader*, 28 February 1907 quoted in Graham, thesis, p.292.
- ²⁰¹ *The Primitive Methodist Leader*, 7 March 1907, p.147 quoted in Graham, thesis, p.292.
- ²⁰² "Practical Thoughts : Bible Thought about Women", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), p.122.
- ²⁰³ Mrs Clara Balfour, "Women", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VIII (1870), p.541
- ²⁰⁴ "Connexional Biographies : Mrs Temperton", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* new ser. II (1895), p.866.
- ²⁰⁵ "Connexional Biographies : Mr Henry Palmer", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* new ser. II (1900), p.469.
- ²⁰⁶ J T Parr, "The Vice-President of Conference Councillor James Skinner, JP", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1925), p.42.
- ²⁰⁷ Crane, *op. cit.* p.224.
- ²⁰⁸ Lidgett, *op. cit.* p.270.
- ²⁰⁹ Wilkinson, *op. cit.* p.38.
- ²¹⁰ Perkins, *op. cit.* p.xiv.
- ²¹¹ Taylor, *op. cit.* pp.99-100,73.
- ²¹² This term was derived from Patmore's poem previously mentioned in this chapter.
- ²¹³ Hannah More, *Essays Principally Designed for Young Ladies* (1777), pp.2-1,5 quoted in Leonora Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes : Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (1987), p.169. In her investigations, which covered the Glasgow Mechanics Institute, Glasgow University and the Anderson Institute for the period 1796-1845, Sarah J Smith

attributes the decline in female attendance at such institutions to a growing "cult of domesticity". Queen's College, Glasgow, which opened in 1842 for the purpose of full time education for women, had disappeared by the 1850s.

Dyhouse contends: "For middle-class men, the 'private' sphere of the family offered a daily point of entry into the 'public world of important issues; for women, it became a prison". Even new technology gave no escape, as Charlotte Perkins Gilman contended, "The domestic hearth, with its undying flame, has given way to the gilded pipes of the steam heater and the flickering evanescence of the gas range. But the sentiment of the domestic hearth is still in play"

S J Smith, "Retaking the Register : Women's Higher Education in Glasgow and Beyond, c.1796-1845", *Gender and History*, 12 (2) (July 2000), pp.310-35; Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.9; C P Gilman, *The Home, Its Work and Influence* (1903), p.22 quoted in *ibid.* p.114.

²¹⁴ Davidoff, "Mastered", p.419.

²¹⁵ Helena Swanwick, *I Have Been Young* (1935), p.144 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.43.

²¹⁶ Winifred Holtby, *Women Workers in a Changing Civilisation* (1934), p.148 quoted in Dyhouse, *Feminism*, p.48

From the turn of the century, the desire to free women from the bondage of housework had given rise to schemes for creating settlements with communal social and dining facilities. These "kitchenless houses", backed up by cooked food delivery and cleaning services, were exemplified by "Homesgarth", a development of 32 apartments, set up at Letchworth in 1913. The notion of providing formal training in housewifery, so promoting it to the status of a science, offered female tenants or other women the chance to become manageress of these domestic centres. But such ideas were opposed by feminists. In relation to the King's College course in Home Science, the correspondent's column of *The Freewoman* in 1911 condemned "the mole-eyed...imbecility" of those who failed to appreciate "a Housewives' Degree" was a "retrograde scheme perpetuating woman's inferiority".

Dyhouse, *Feminism*, pp.111-8; *The Freewoman*, 14 December 1911, 70 quoted in *ibid.* p.140.

²¹⁷ "For the Family : Husband and Wife", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. III (1865), p.91.

²¹⁸ "Connexional Biographies : Mrs Elizabeth Sharpe", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. II (1895), p.786.

²¹⁹ "At Home With God", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. IX (1910), p.237.

²²⁰ *Methodist Recorder*, 13 July 1916, p.3.

²²¹ Mrs J E Leuty, "The Women's World : The True Woman in the New Age", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1917), p.51.

²²² F C Hoggarth, "The Kingdom of Home", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXLVIII (1925), p.128.

²²³ The 1911 census recorded about one third of all women as doing some paid work - an underestimate of the actual proportion, for as Thom points out, much domestic work, such as taking in of washing, childminding or charring, might not have been recorded.

Thom, *op. cit.* p.25.

²²⁴ In the winter of 1914-5 government contracts gave employment to many in traditional industries such as leather, hosiery, medical dressing and tailoring, though very few were employed in work normally done by men. But by 1915 women were replacing men in newer realms of office work and transport. This same year saw a rush of women into munitions (in 1914 125 women were employed at Woolwich Arsenal, by 1917 there were 25,000), leaving, by the following year, a shortage of labour in the textiles and clothing trades. In January 1916 conscription for men was introduced. As casualties increased the

blanket exemption of skilled men by union was withdrawn, and in 1918 the Manpower Bill was passed, which cancelled all previous exemptions. From this time all male munitions workers under the age of 25 were liable for conscription.

Braybon, *op. cit.* pp.45-6.

²²⁵ These figures exclude those in small dressmaking establishments, domestic service, self-employed or employed by husbands.

Ibid. pp.46-7.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* pp.154,158.

For instance, the dangers of munitions work were glossed over, as illustrated by the *Weekly Welcome's* reassurance upon the effects highly toxic TNT, "the yellow colouring which appears on the skin in no way effects the health, and will disappear when the work in this department is given up for a week".

"My First Day as a Munitions Girl", *Weekly Welcome*, 3 March 1917 quoted in *ibid.* p.160.

In addition, some advertisements of the period particularly celebrated women workers, exemplified in the Bovril series, each of which depicted a different female war worker.

Thom, *op. cit.* p.170.

²²⁷ Irene Clephane, *Towards Sex and Freedom* (1935), p.371 quoted in Braybon, *op. cit.* p.185.

This assertion was exemplified by the comment, "they would sooner fill a man's place while he walks the street looking for a right to live".

After an examination of unemployment records in March 1919, the *Manchester Dispatch* denied that the figures were as bad as they appeared. The reason given for this contention was, that, since many women were recorded as having worked for the first time during the war, these must be wives, who should now return home.

Letter in *Hull Daily Mail*, 14 February 1919 quoted in Braybon, *op. cit.* p.190; "The Women in the Case", *Manchester Dispatch*, 27 March 1919 quoted in Braybon, *op. cit.* p.190.

²²⁸ By 1933, Thom reports, there were only 100 day nurseries, which accommodated a mere total of 3,550 under-fives. However, even during the hostilities the provision of nurseries (some of which had existed prior to 1914) was neither plentiful nor uniform throughout the country. Some nurseries were run by voluntary organisations; very few were provided by national factories. Government, unless it perceived that childcare was essential to maintain maximum industrial production, was reluctant to provide funding. Many contemporary health workers viewed day nurseries with disdain. In a survey of 1918 (completed by local Medical Officers of Health) it was stated that they were "a makeshift for lessening the bad effects of mothers having to leave their little children" and that there was "a danger that new day Nurseries established for patriotic reasons to meet a temporary emergency will become permanent".

Thom, *op. cit.* pp.173, 176-7.

²²⁹ Braybon, *op. cit.* p.179.

²³⁰ *Evening News*, 4 January 1919 quoted in *ibid.* p.188.

When numbers of unemployed did not fall after six months, the government reduced benefit rates, and refused it altogether if jobs offered by labour exchanges were refused. Despite most vacant positions occurring in poorly paid laundry or domestic service, many women were obliged to accept such work because of withdrawal of benefit.

But even newer occupations had disadvantages. Retailing involved long hours of work. In 1910 employees of "first-class" shops endured a 60 to 65 hour week; those in less "classy" establishments toiled for up to 85 hours. Elementary school leavers working in offices were mostly confined to mundane chores such as filing and making tea. Even secondary girls with shorthand and typing qualifications had few prospects.

Despite the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 the only professions readily available to women were nursing and teaching. In the former snobbery in recruitment manifested itself in the preference for "sheltered" girls rather than ex-domestic workers or factory girls. In the latter the phasing out of the

pupil-teacher system post 1907 robbed many working-class women of the opportunity of entering teaching as an elementary teacher. The proportion of uncertificated teachers fell from 31 per cent in 1911 to 18 per cent in 1931. In addition, between 1923 and 1934 there was a bar on employment of all married women in the profession

Braybon, *op. cit.* pp.179-82,187; Roberts, *Work*, pp.27,59; Tinkler, *op. cit.* pp.28,32-3; D M Copelman, "'A New Comradeship between Men and Women' : Family, Marriage and London's Women Teachers, 1870-1914" in Lewis, ed. *op. cit.* p.188.

²³¹ Although the First World War had appeared to constitute a turning point for women in medicine after 40 to 50 years of institutional and social barriers to qualification and practice, during the interwar years there was a backlash on the part of some school authorities and students. The massive patriarchal prerogative, which arose within a context of fear of competition, was exemplified in the 1920-5 exclusion of women from the London Medical College. Even when women were allowed to enter a profession, the notion of "separate spheres" might be maintained. In her study on female designers for the period 1920-51, Jill Seddon found that in the interwar years women designers (who had little representation in professional bodies) tended to be confined to those specialist areas associated with the domestic - such as textiles, fashions, and ceramics.

Carol Dyhouse, "Women Students and the London Medical Schools, 1914-39 : The Anatomy of a Masculine Culture", *Gender and History*, 10 (1) (April 1998) (hereafter "Medical"), pp.110-32; Jill Seddon, "Mentioned, but Denied Significance : Women Designers and the 'Professionalisation' of Design in Britain c.1920-1951", *Gender and History*, 12 (2) (July 2000), pp.426-47.

²³² Davidoff and Hall, *op. cit.* p.171.

Refer to Chapter Two for further discussion of the inculcation of morality.

²³³ Davidoff, *Best*, pp.97-100.

²³⁴ 1,300,000 in 1851 to 2,000,000 in 1881.

Branca, *op. cit.* p.25.

In fact, the increasing proliferation of servants in the Victorian period could help to further underline the hierarchy of power within the family, since, according to Davidoff, in the wealthiest households, servants not only protected the family from the outside world, they shielded master and mistress from lower servants and children, a situation prevailing within the wealthy "ministerial" Gleaves family.

Davidoff, "Mastered", p.412.

For further reference to the Gleaves family in this respect see Chapter Two.

²³⁵ Taking the typical middle-class income as between £100 to £300 per annum, most middle-class households had a maid-of-all-work, paid a wage of £9-14 per annum. Any more servants were not economically feasible - for instance, a cook or parlour maid cost approximately £20 per annum, a nurse or housemaid, £16. Davidoff, "Mastered", p.412; Branca, *op. cit.* p.54.

²³⁶ Branca, *op. cit.* p.22.

²³⁷ The increased financial income was spent not only on the basic necessities and the employment of servants, but also on newly available household appliances. The middle-class wife was a prime target for advertisers of new household appliances (kitchen ranges, washing machines, sewing machines, etc.), and sanitary improvements (water closets, bath tubs, piped water, etc.). Indeed, Branca sees her in her role of decision maker, "as a significant force for consumer-related economic development", and condemns "the constant carping from contemporary publicists" who exaggerated the middle-class wife's love of luxury. For, out of an annual income of £150, Branca estimates £6 was allocated to basic furnishing, half of which to new expenditure, making the cost of a Singer sewing machine at £9 to £12 only accessible to most of these women by the gradual payments scheme
Ibid. pp.150,51-2.

²³⁸ Branca asserts that much criticism meted out to the middle-class woman on the treatment of servants (for instance, that of Sarah Ellis: "Servants are generally looked upon, by thoughtless young ladies, as a sort of household

machinery") may be unjustified, since many servants at this time were untrained, recruited from poverty stricken backgrounds, and had no idea of middle-class standards. Moreover, the problems and strains of training for the middle-class wife would have been exacerbated by the intimate one-to-one contact of mistress and servant in the typical household.

The importance of this second significant area of housekeeping, namely, financial accounts, is also indicated by the proliferation of printed household account books on sale at mid-century, though it is not known how widely these publications were actually put into use, as many were purchased as gifts.

Sarah Ellis, *The Women of England, Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* (1839) quoted in Branca, *op. cit.* p.33; Branca, *op. cit.* pp.56,26.

²³⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.* p.75.

²⁴⁰ Anna Martin, "The Married Working Woman" in *Nineteenth Century and After* (1910) quoted in Braybon, *op. cit.* p.40; Arch, *op. cit.* pp.46-7.

²⁴¹ Both Roberts and Chinn found evidence of men doing household chores when needed. A Methodist subject of Roberts recalled her father cleaning toilets, floors and the kitchen on his day off from work. However, he would not undertake any outdoor cleaning duties where he might be observed. Chinn also concedes that his lower-working class husbands kept knowledge of their household chores from their male companions.

Roberts, *Place*, p.116; Mrs B2P in "Transcripts", p.3; Chinn, *op. cit.* p.16.

²⁴² Roberts, *Place*, p.124.

On the question of physical aggression, attitudes towards violence of husbands towards wives varied within the working class. Roberts found that wife beating was condemned. Chinn, however, found a prevalence of wife beating in poor neighbourhoods, but with subtle differences existing between acceptable and unacceptable violence. The most vicious beatings occurred in "unsettled, sunken" districts where the matriarchy was absent. On the other hand, Chinn reports a general lack of malice between spouses after a fight, black eyes could be "worn like a medal". Indeed, some women fought back, and there were even instances of husbands being beaten by wives. Certainly, it is difficult to imagine the female chainmakers of Cradley, described by Cliff Willetts as: "hard and durable as the chains they made", being cowed by their spouses.

On a legal level, divorce court records from mid-century onwards indicated a modification to the definition of matrimonial cruelty, which had hitherto necessarily involved danger to life, limb, or health. After 1857, wives brought more complaints of non-physical cruelty to court which were received sympathetically. In 1858 Judge Cresswell condemned a husband for humiliating his wife by giving over the care of his children to a servant after a marital dispute, treatment "which displaced her from her proper position in her house, and rendered her subordinate to a servant". However, this judgment was not motivated by any desire to overturn male supremacy, rather it reinforced the Victorian social hierarchy, whereby servants and other lower orders were expected to keep their place. Nevertheless, such cases uncovered an increasing conflict between expectations of middle-class women and male tyranny. Rebellion was also indicated by the publication of advice manuals from the 1830s onwards, with their "evangelical injunction" for unhappy wives to "suffer and be still" (Sarah Ellis, *Daughters of England*, (1842)). This exhortation was ignored by those wives who, as divorce court cases revealed, pulled whiskers, or emptied chamber pots over husbands' heads.

Roberts, *Place*, p.194; Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.157-64,38; Willetts, *op. cit.* I p.6; Hammerton, *op. cit.* pp.277-87.

²⁴³ This matriarchal solidarity contrasted with the experience of the upper classes, where post marriage identification with the husband's family was the norm.

Chinn, *op. cit.* p.23.

²⁴⁴ Roberts, *Place*, p.124.

²⁴⁵ Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.51-2.

²⁴⁶ Roberts, *Place*, p.110.

Violence could result from perceived wifely financial incompetence. In their examination of domestic violence in Liverpool for the period 1919-1939, Pat Ayres and Jan Lambertz found that working-class husbands believed that handing over part or whole of their wage packets to their wives entitled them to abuse the latter if they proved "less than financial wizards" in times of hardship. The loss of status of these women caused by their inability to be good financial managers reflected adversely upon the husbands' images as good providers, thus conflict ensued.

The handling of household finances also sparked off middle-class matrimonial violence, witnessed by its frequent mention in the Divorce Court. For instance, in one case the wife provoked her builder husband's violence by selling off building materials to feed and clothe the children.

Pat Ayers & Jan Lambert, "Marriage Relations, Money and Domestic Violence in Working-Class Liverpool, 1919-39" in Lewis, ed. *op. cit.* p.197; Hammerton, *op. cit.* p.278.

²⁴⁷ Anna Martin, *The Married Working Woman : A Study* (1911) in Chinn, *op. cit.* p.21.

These women were at the hub of a community (which was not the "urban village" described by Standish Meacham, but rather, according to Roberts, a street or a few streets without a focal point). There was a tendency to marry within an area. Chinn found that the 1908-10 Educational Census showed that, for Studley St in Sparkbrook (containing 81 houses), there were five families called Warwick, three called Jones or Stokes, and two each of Moore, Fletcher, Chambers, Harris, Hyde, Beedon, Bashford, Parton and Fawkes.

However, the strong identification with a neighbourhood was not only based upon kinship ties, but also was allied to the support network between neighbours. Help offered included looking after the elderly and sick, and minding children. Some women had specialised roles, for instance, giving advice on remedies for ailments, laying out the dead, or attending confinements. The degree of intimacy between inhabitants varied between neighbourhoods. Chinn found that most socialising took place among the poorer in society. Roberts noted that neighbourhood ties tended to weaken with increasing affluence, as less support was needed from those around.

Roberts, *Place*, pp.183-4,198; Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.27,34-40,116.

²⁴⁸ Such shortages necessitated considerable expenditure of time and effort in queuing.

Thom, *op. cit.* p.169.

²⁴⁹ Arch, *op. cit.* p.7.

²⁵⁰ Brooks, *op. cit.* I p.25

²⁵¹ Tyrrell, *op. cit.* p.188.

²⁵² McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.6.

²⁵³ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.53.

²⁵⁴ E M Kendall, "The Woman's World : Woman - her Place in the World, the Home and the Church", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1917), p.415.

²⁵⁵ Hughes, *op. cit.* p.10.

²⁵⁶ Entries for 3 Feb 1915; 5 July 1915; 8 Aug 1915 in Wright, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁷ In 1917 the symbol X appears for entries 6 July; 14 July; 8 Sept; 14 Sept; 22 Sept in Wright, *op. cit.*

²⁵⁸ Entry for 10 Mar 1918 in Wright, *op. cit.*

By 1921 these disagreements may have ceased, since the symbol did not appear this year.

²⁵⁹ Chinn, *op. cit.* p.22.

²⁶⁰ Jones, "Work", p.487.

²⁶¹ Burstyn, *op. cit.* p.137.

²⁶² Jane Rendall asserts, "a single version of the public sphere is insufficient to allow us to understand the complicated variety of ways in which women might identify with communities which stretch beyond the borders...of home and family".

Jane Rendall, "Women and the Public Sphere", *Gender and History*, 11 (3) (Nov. 1999), p.482.

²⁶³ Although both male and female Ashursts did vital work for the campaign, the former campaigned publicly, whereas the latter were confined to covert activities, such as organisation of the accounts of the campaign funds, setting up a secret postal service between insurrectionists in London and Paris, and forging passports for Giuseppe Mazzini. Gleadle contends, "For such women to actively support militarism... was in itself a contortion of the prevalent concepts of 'woman's sphere' as nurturing and morally pure".

Kathryn Gleadle, "'Our Several Spheres' : Middle-class Women and Feminisms of Early Victorian Politics" in Kathryn Gleadle & Sarah Richardson, eds. *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860 : The Power of the Petticoat* (2000), p.145.

²⁶⁴ Examples given include the Cadbury, Albright, Stacey, Impney, and Wilson families.

Bartley, thesis, p.75.

²⁶⁵ Davidoff, *Best*, pp.56,96.

Indeed, some, like Helen Bosanquet and Octavia Hill, believed that middle-class "visitors" should endeavour to get to know their subjects, that social work in the context of the family was a means of social progress, whereby middle-class values could be inculcated into the uneducated working-class mind.

Jane Lewis, "Women and Late-Nineteenth-Century Social Work" in Smart, ed. *op. cit.* pp.80-96.

²⁶⁶ Davidoff, *Best*, p.96.

²⁶⁷ Levine, "So", p.156.

A further example of wifely emancipation was embodied in the Caitlin marriage. On his marriage to Vera Brittain in 1925 George Caitlin made it clear that he expected no sacrifice to be made of her career: "I offer you, I think, as free a marriage as it lies in the power of a man to offer a woman... I ask you to give what you want to give, no more....I know that your work is more to you than I am....".

Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, (1933, 1978 edition), p.652.

²⁶⁸ From the 1870s women went out increasingly as missionaries in their own right, many working without the supervision of men. Though by the late 1880s many had faced grave dangers, missionary propaganda still insisted on concentrating upon their feminine charms when reporting their activities.

Judith Rowbotham, "'Soldiers of Christ'? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain : Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom", *Gender and History*, 12 (1) (April 2000), pp.82-106.

²⁶⁹ Elaine Showalter, "Family Secrets and Domestic Subversion : Rebellion in the novels of the 1860s" (hereafter "Family"), in Wohl, ed. *op. cit.* p.104.

²⁷⁰ Mary Braddon, *Aurora Floyd* (1863), I chap. 3 quoted in Showalter, "Family", p.105.

²⁷¹ Showalter believes that these novels represented a "collective anger and rebellion" among women of the period, and offered "the threat of new fantasies, new expectations, and even female insurrection". Indeed, their popularity both in paper form, and dramatic interpretation (for instance, Braddon's *Lady Audley* and *Aurora Floyd* were playing at eight London theatres in 1863), attest to these assertions.

Showalter, "Family", *op. cit.* pp.103-4,107,114.

²⁷² A S Peake, *The Life of Sir William Hartley* (1926), p.21.

²⁷³ For instance, from 1834 single or widowed women ratepayers were eligible to vote for Poor Law Guardians. In 1869 single and widowed ratepaying women were enabled to vote in municipal elections on the same basis as men. The restrictions on married women and property qualifications were abolished by legislation of 1894, which allowed both single and married women to vote for and be elected as Poor Law guardians, and as parish, district and vestry councillors. Legislation of 1882 and 1888 enabled qualified women to vote in county and county borough elections. 1907 legislation provided that women should not be disqualified by marriage or sex from election to county or borough councils. In 1914 property qualifications were abolished for candidates for County and Borough councils.

The involvement of women in local politics is discussed in great detail in: Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect : Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford, 1987).

²⁷⁴ McCarthy, *op. cit.* p.7.

²⁷⁵ Richardson, *op. cit.* pp.3-4.

²⁷⁶ Edwards, *op. cit.* pp.96-7.

²⁷⁷ Mitchell, ed. *op. cit.* pp.11,96,27. Also see chaps. 11-15 for further details of Hannah's suffrage activities.

In the introduction to the book Geoffrey Mitchell recalls an early memory of his grandmother - of her calling at his home to leave a message for his grandfather. He was to be informed that she was going out, and that his dinner was in the oven. Moreover, if he wished to have any tea before she returned, then he was to obtain it from the local café.

Ibid. p.13.

²⁷⁸ Edwards, *op. cit.* pp.96-7.

²⁷⁹ Richardson, *op. cit.* pp.3-4.

²⁸⁰ Hughes, *op. cit.* p.67.

Chapter Five

"Death, where is thy sting?"

This chapter completes the journey through the Methodist family life course by analysing attitudes to bereavement amongst its members. Assessment will be made of the extent to which, throughout the years covered by this study, Methodists of all categories and social classes participated in the same rituals as those in the non-Methodist world. In addition, comparison will be made between Connexional, personal Methodist, and "respectable" opinion respecting bereavement. Any changes in outlook which occur during the period of this thesis will be investigated in the light of events taking place within the non-Methodist world.

Firstly, family bereavement will be placed in its appropriate context by examination of the health of the nation. The degree to which the homogeneity of Methodist family experience was undermined in respect of rituals connected with death will be determined by assessment of Methodists' adaptation to the prevailing customs of their various local surrounding secular communities, and the extent to which behaviour was informed by locality and social class rather than religious affiliation. In addition, the social and financial consequences of bereavement experienced by Methodists will be investigated in the light of those faced by families in the non-Methodist world.

Secondly, in examining the spiritual and emotional aspects of death, the degree to which Methodist subjects' responses accorded with the sentiments expressed in Connexional consolation literature will be evaluated. Any divergence between official and personal attitudes

towards death will be investigated in the light of certain contemporary secular and spiritual forces and events, such as the First World War, the growth of spiritualism, eschatological debate, and rising material wealth. The aim of such an investigation is twofold: to assess, firstly, the diversity of attitude existing within the Connexional membership, and, secondly, the degree of consonance between the responses of Methodist families with those of the non-Methodist world.

The Health of the Nation

Death, unlike matters appertaining to sexual morality discussed in the previous chapter, was no taboo. Although, in many respects, the poorer in society bore the greater burden of suffering, during the period covered by this research bereavement was a regular feature of family life across the social spectrum. As Vincent asserts, the closest relationships were "always threatened by the unpredictable and often unannounced visitations of death" ¹, a contention reinforced by statistical evidence which showed that in 1838-54 the average life expectancy in England and Wales for males was 39.9 years, and for females 41.9 years, and that the wealthier in society apparently enjoying a higher incidence of longevity than their social inferiors ².

The event of childbirth could prove fatal for both mothers and babies. In fact, infant mortality was a common form of family bereavement. Official figures understate the tragedy, since only after 1874 was a certificate legally required for the burial of stillborn children in England and Wales. Although the rate of infant mortality began to decline at the turn of the twentieth century, it lagged behind the decline in adult death rates by 30 years ³.

Contemporary local studies undertaken during the latter decades of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries indicate a higher rate of infant mortality within the poorer classes. It was reported that in Sheffield in the 1870s illegitimate babies died at a rate of 582 per 1000 live births, compared to a rate for legitimates of only 162. Average annual infant mortality rates in London for 1900-3 revealed that there were 92 deaths per 1000 live births in Hampstead, compared to 186 in Shoreditch ⁴. Both sets of figures indicate significant links between poverty, social status, and infant death. The familiarity of child death to the working class was chillingly illustrated by Elizabeth Roberts' account (which related to an incident which took place in Barrow about 1904) of the 12 year old girl taking her mother's still-born baby to the cemetery in a soap box for burial in a public grave, and being told by the grave digger to put the box with the other "parcels" ⁵.

Connexional literature of the latter half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries bore witness to the frequency of premature death. A sermon of the mid-nineteenth century, aimed at the young, reminded the reader of the imminence of death in its admonition: "It is possible (might I not say, probable) that some of you have entered upon the last year of your abode upon earth" ⁶. This timely warning was endorsed by the evidence of early decease presented in both Methodist official and personal accounts. In 1857 readers of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* were informed that, three years previously, the Reverend James Henry had lost three of his children within three months. His wife died a year later ⁷. An official obituary of 1874 reported that the late Alice Smith lost two sons, two married daughters, a sister and a husband all within a period of four years ⁸.

Methodist personal accounts of all categories and social classes also attested to such tragedies. In 1874 two sons of minister Thomas Champness died of whooping cough⁹. Within the "officer" category, working-class Thomas Carter recalled an aunt who, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, lost four of her children within a week of fever¹⁰. Middle-class "officer" Thomas Wright lost his daughter, Margaret, not yet two years of age, when she died from diphtheria in 1922¹¹. Writing of his early years in the first decades of the twentieth century, "rank-and-filer" Bernard Hesling recalled that death was a common topic of conversation among the women of his working-class neighbourhood, and when it occurred, "There was no shortage of willing hands at the laying-out", a task many had learned at their mothers' knee¹².

The causes of premature death were numerous, particularly in the nineteenth century, many diseases cutting across social class. Diarrhoea was a major cause of infant death, estimated in the 1870s at a rate of 17.1 per 1000 live births. Other afflictions particularly common in infancy were whooping cough, and croup, though the latter was rarely fatal. In addition, congenital syphilis is thought to have been a significant killer, although in records this was usually subsumed under other headings as hydrocephalus¹³. Other diseases were also particularly prevalent in childhood. In 1838-42 the measles mortality rate in England and Wales was 53.9 per 100,000 living, in 1886-90 it was 46.8, and did not substantially fall until the next century¹⁴. Scarlet fever, often spread by infected milk, enjoyed a mortality rate of 149.8 per 100,000 living in 1863. This ailment, like measles, cut across social class, a notable example of its devastation amongst the better off in society being that the family of Bishop Tait who lost five daughters to the disease in 1856¹⁵. Diphtheria, most common in rural areas, was most probably spread by overcrowding in the case of the poor, and by infected

milk amongst the better off. Smallpox was also a common scourge, mostly of the poor, claiming 41,600 victims between 1837 and 1840. Compulsory vaccination for infants was introduced in 1853, but was resisted by many of the poor, mainly due to its association with the Poor Law, whose officers were responsible for its administration ¹⁶.

Other diseases were also rife up to the last decades of the nineteenth century ¹⁷. Typhus, spread by body lice, made many visitations, especially in economically depressed years. For example, in 1837-8 nearly 19,000 died in England and Wales. Typhoid, transmitted by fouled water, milk or other food, was associated with dirt rather than poverty, and had an average death rate of 0.32 per 1000 living between 1871 and 1880. Cholera epidemics claimed many lives, 62,000 dying in the country during the 1848-9 outbreak. Epidemics of influenza of the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century killed many, especially among the elderly ¹⁸. Tuberculosis was most common in the 25-45 age group, and most virulent amongst(though not confined to) the poor. Consumption was estimated as killing over 50,000 in 1858 ¹⁹. As well as contagion, mortality was often induced by illness associated with dangerous occupations, such as pneumoconiosis in mining, and "grinder's asthma", or silicosis of the lungs, found in the Sheffield fork grinders ²⁰.

Food was also a significant cause of debility and death. Throughout the nineteenth century, though by-laws existed in some parts of the country, there was no effective national control over meat, either at slaughter or sale ²¹. Up to the 1870s bread was frequently adulterated by alum, added as a whitener. In the early part of the century tea was coloured with Prussian blue. Beer often contained *cocculus indicus* and *nux vomica*, an hallucinogen (which may have enhanced its popularity).

Milk was frequently contaminated by dirty water and unhygienic handling²².

The condition of sufferers from all social classes was rarely alleviated by the "cures" available up to 1880. The dehydration resulting from purgatives employed in the treatment of diarrhoea probably caused many infant deaths; and mortality amongst the upper and middle classes due to measles and scarlet fever was probably inflated owing to doctors' "remedies", involving bleeding, purging and emetics²³. From the 1820s onwards many who could not afford doctors' fees²⁴ could resort to patent medicines, such as Morrison's or Beecham's Pills, at best ineffective, and at worst lethal concoctions, masquerading as panaceas for a few pence²⁵.

Hospitals were also of questionable benefit, since into the 1870s many remained grossly insanitary²⁶. The advent of anaesthesia in the 1840s, and antiseptics in the 1860s facilitated increase in the number and complexity of operations performed, and reduced the operational mortality rate²⁷. But reform was neither uniform nor immediate, as seen in the resistance of some older doctors to the adoption of antiseptic procedures²⁸. Nursing, a low paid and low status occupation, was of a generally low quality until gradual improvement began with the slow infiltration of trained personnel from the Protestant sisterhoods and from the Nightingale school at St Thomas' Hospital from mid-century onwards²⁹. Many voluntary hospitals refused entrance to incurables, children under two, chronic cases, and those with contagious diseases, in many cases admittance only being allowed via subscribers' recommendation or "lines"³⁰. Most people were treated at the out-patients' department where, after a lengthy wait in insanitary and uncomfortable conditions, they were unlikely to be seen by a doctor, but instead examined by an overworked and ill equipped medical student³¹.

However, as the nineteenth century wore on there were some discernable improvements in the health of the nation. Life expectancy was slightly increased between the middle and the end of the century: in 1890 it was 44 years for men, and 47 years for women ³². By 1911-2, it was 52 for males and 55 for females ³³, and by the end of the second decade of the century expectation of life at birth for both sexes had risen to nearly 60 ³⁴. There was also a decrease in mortality from some diseases. By 1886 there were less than 250 deaths in England and Wales from typhus ³⁵; fatalities from smallpox declined from 1875 onwards ³⁶; by 1894 the death rate for tuberculosis was reduced to 188 per 100,000 living, half that of 1838 ³⁷. Also, there was an apparent increase in other ailments, such as heart disease and some cancers, which may be associated with the elderly ³⁸.

The key factor in this amelioration was the rise of 70 percent in real working-class incomes during the period 1850-1906, an increase which rose to more than 200 percent by 1935 ³⁹, a phenomenon which facilitated a better standard of living. Disease was also undermined by public health legislation which escalated from the middle decades of the nineteenth century ⁴⁰, culminating in the Public Health Act of 1875, which consolidated all previous ones by establishing minimum national standards for public health ⁴¹. However, universal reform did not yet prevail. For instance, in 1889 Birmingham still had 30,000 pan privies and middens in backyards ⁴². Indeed, both Roberts and Chinn (in their respective studies of the north-west and Birmingham which cover the latter decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries) attested to the continual battle waged by many of the working class against bed bugs, cockroaches, and fleas well into the next century ⁴³.

With the high mortality of the nineteenth century, exacerbated for many by such appalling living conditions (which were endured by some of the poorer classes for the whole period covered by this research), it is no wonder that death figured sufficiently prominently in daily existence to give rise to what Wheeler contends was a "Victorian cult of death" ⁴⁴. One manifestation of this phenomenon, which might provide comfort to the bereaved in all parts of society, was to be found in those rituals and customs surrounding death, many of which survived well into the twentieth century.

Rituals and Customs surrounding Death

For the whole period covered by this thesis, Methodists partook in those rituals and customs associated with bereavement which prevailed in the secular world. The viewing of the dead was a practice common throughout both the wider society and within the Connexion at all social levels. Moreover, it was a custom which survived well into the twentieth century, exemplified in "ministerial" and "officer" accounts. For instance, "officer" Thomas Wright, whose mother died on 10 November 1927 recorded that, on the following day, "Been to see her many times today"⁴⁵. Pat Jalland, however, points out the presence amongst potential viewers of a realistic awareness of possible deterioration of the corpse, since inspection of the deceased preferably took place immediately after death, before the features had stiffened ⁴⁶. Edwin Chadwick's 1843 *Report on the Practice of Interment in Towns* asserted that attitudes towards the viewing of bodies varied with social status, the corpse generating feelings of respect only among the comfortable classes. Among the lower orders it was often treated with "as little ceremony as the carcase in a butcher's shop", due to the familiarity and disgust arising when bodies remained in overcrowded living rooms for

over a week ⁴⁷. Chinn's research on working-class Birmingham, the period of which commenced in 1880, nearly four decades after Chadwick's report, revealed no evidence of any such negative feelings amongst his subjects. Nevertheless, his research did indicate the inconvenience of housing a corpse within an overcrowded working-class home in his cited example of the Birmingham "mother" who allowed her less fortunate neighbours, who had no spare room of their own, to use her front parlour for laying out and viewing the deceased ⁴⁸.

In her study of the working class in the north-west for a similar period, namely, 1890-1940, Roberts found that even children freely viewed bodies of family and friends ⁴⁹. This finding was reinforced by (mainly working-class) Methodist personal accounts but the reactions of children coming face to face with death were varied, as not all adapted successfully to this custom. As a child in the 1880s the future minister, working-class Joseph Barlow Brooks, quite undisturbed, viewed the body of his grandmother, whereas his brother refused to follow his example, due to a sensitivity which remained with him throughout his life ⁵⁰. However, those destined for the ministry did not always view death with such equanimity. Within the same social stratum, William Lax remembered his first childhood experience (in the last decades of the nineteenth century), when his uncle, having been crushed in a mining accident, was carried home dead. Lax recalled this confrontation with "Death in its crudest form, with not the slightest attempt to alleviate its stark and fearsome horror" ⁵¹ as an experience which instilled into him a horror of all things dead: "A coffin was the apotheosis of ugliness: a funeral an event from which to run away" ⁵². Lax's horror may have been exacerbated by the violence of his uncle's death, but even the sight of a life peacefully ebbing away could give rise to revulsion in some of the young. In the next century the youthful middle-class "officer" Greta Barker was terrified by the sight of the calmly dying

"Granpy Gamble": "I was really frightened and this fear of death as something so quiet, mysterious and inevitable stayed with me right through my childhood" ⁵³. Such reactions by "ministerial" and "officer" subjects (namely, those assumed to be committed to the Christian beliefs inherent in Methodism) suggests that the possession of faith in a heavenly after-life did not shield some Methodists from this horror or fear of death.

Following the viewing of the body came the funeral. Roberts lays emphasis upon the attention given to this ritual by the working-class family, witnessed by their most common form of saving, death insurance: "...it is an interesting reflection on the strength of working-class mores that what little could be saved went not on the well-being of the living, but to ensure the decent burial of the dead" ⁵⁴. One of Charles Booth's informants observed, "There is a feeling among the poor, that when a man dies if he has saved money, it is his : 'he has made the money, poor fellow, and he shall have it'" ⁵⁵. Similarly, Chinn has remarked upon the pomp of the working-class funeral, a family being considered deficient in its duty if it did not provide a "funeral feast", thus allowing the deceased to be "buried with 'am' ⁵⁶.

Methodist personal accounts also attest to the pomp and ceremony attached to working-class interments into the twentieth century. One of Roberts' ("rank-and-file") Methodist subjects, born in 1916, recalled the plumed horses and carriages of the cortege, the ceremony being followed by the funeral tea sometimes held in cafes ⁵⁷. The Bowers Row funerals of the first decades of the twentieth century (for Methodist and non-Methodist alike) were "a kind of status symbol..A good funeral could give the deceased a social status which he never enjoyed when he was alive" ⁵⁸.

Bullock's description of such occasions depicted what should be considered primarily as community, rather than distinctly denominational, traditions. He described how all the village would assemble outside the house on the day of the funeral. If the deceased was a member of the chapel, hymns would be sung round the coffin before and also while it was borne away on the hearse to the chapel or church (the only apparent difference between Methodist and non-Methodist practice). The number of floral tributes was carefully recorded. Also the number of cabs, horses drawing the hearse, type and size of tombstone, amount of emotion shown by mourners were all meticulously noted and discussed until another funeral took place, at which time comparisons could be made ⁵⁹. By making little distinction between Methodist and non-Methodist behaviour, Bullock underlined the degree of integration of Methodists within their local community. Such behaviour, being informed by locality and social class rather than religious affiliation, also implies a lack of homogeneity amongst Connexional families regarding this aspect of family life.

The heterogeneity of Methodist death rituals was further underlined by the distinctiveness of the community traditions revealed by Clark in his examination of the bereavement traditions of early twentieth-century Staithes. He found that such rites reinforced the solidarity of the community by providing the individual a sense of belonging, reassurance being given that he or she was behaving "correctly". He saw the period between death and burial as one of liminality, a suspension of normal activity in which clocks are stopped, families stayed up all night and dozed in chairs, mirrors and pictures covered. The funeral tea was the first rite of incorporation, the bringing together of the community to acknowledge the death, and preparing the bereaved family to return from the "fraught liminal phase" towards the regular pattern of communal life. During this process, which was continued over the next weeks,

mourning rituals were relaxed, for instance, window blinds raised, and women of the family (who may have refrained from chapel attendance, or even appearing outdoors) return to normal daily living ⁶⁰.

Mourning customs were not confined to the working class. Elaborate rituals pervaded the whole of society. Chadwick's 1843 report estimated the average bill for an aristocratic funeral in London at £500-£1500, for the upper gentry £200-£400, and for an "ordinary" middle-class funeral £50-£75 ⁶¹. In the wake of Chadwick's report both legislation and funeral reformers sought and achieved changes, many of which were aimed at combating the spread of disease engendered by current practices, especially the continued burial in already overcrowded churchyards ⁶². Jalland contends that, by the 1870s, simple funerals had become "de rigueur" for middle and upper-class families ⁶³.

Personal accounts revealed no evidence relating to middle-class Methodist funerals in the nineteenth century. However, those examples relating to the early twentieth century did not reflect this trend towards simplicity. The funeral of minister Thomas Champness in 1905 was a grand affair at which 100 ministers walked ahead of his coffin. His biographer daughter proudly recalled, "I question whether such a sight has been witnessed there since John Wycliffe was buried" ⁶⁴. However, such a display of grandeur at a minister's funeral was probably relatively rare. The splendour of Champness' interment was likely to have been occasioned by his high status within the Connexion.

Although the evidence revealed no other examples which matched the magnitude of Champness' funeral, nevertheless, further instances of elaborate middle-class interments were found. Within the "officer" division, when his brother, Harold, was buried in 1926 Thomas Wright recorded, "Gentleman's funeral. Very many wreaths...Tea in choir vestry.

About 45 sat down to tea". At his father's funeral three years later there were five coaches, besides which many of his father's former workmates walked in front of the coffin ⁶⁵. Secular literature of the early twentieth century also recorded elaborate middle-class Methodist funerals. In Arnold Bennett's *The Old Wives Tale*, written in 1910, there were 20 vehicles in the cortege at Mr Baines' funeral ⁶⁶. Although the therapeutic value or spiritual significance of these events was rarely recorded in Methodist personal accounts, a notable exception was found in that of Thomas Champness, whose daughter described her father's funeral as "so easy and natural, and pleasant and homely. It seemed as though we had come to see him on board some big liner leaving the docks for an ocean trip" ⁶⁷, a reassuringly comforting comment, but, perhaps, not unexpected in the biography of a minister.

An important element in the rituals surrounding death was the wearing of mourning, the primary functions of which in the Victorian period were: "to identify the mourner, show respect for the dead, elicit sympathy of the community, and match the mourner's sombre mood" ⁶⁸. Although Methodist personal accounts made no mention of the wearing of mourning, a strong indication that the custom was as prevalent within the Connexion as in the non-Methodist world was found in the novel, *The Farringtons*, written in 1900 by the daughter of "ministerial" subject Henry Hartley Fowler. In this publication Mrs Bateson comments: "It's wonderful how a bit of good mourning helps folks to bear their sorrows" ⁶⁹.

Davidoff asserts that during the nineteenth century such practices became more elaborate as they were incorporated into the formal social code, the degree of mourning indicating, besides the relationship of the bereaved to the deceased, the social importance of the latter. Women of the family were expected to be the chief protagonists in mourning,

wearing the correct apparel, and behaving in the correct way for the correct amount of time. Widows put on the deepest mourning and wore it longest⁷⁰. Davidoff moreover contends that, encouraged by royal example, mourning culture grew, reaching its zenith about 1870-80, by which time related rules of etiquette and a flourishing retail trade had appeared⁷¹. In Bennett's novel: "Many people simultaneously remarked upon the coincidence that Mr Baines should have died while there was a show of mourning goods in his establishment" ⁷².

Economic and Social Consequences of Family Bereavement

Although the fictional Baines family apparently took financial advantage of the patriarch's death, family bereavement could have dire social and material effects upon the lives of those left behind, especially the widows and children of the deceased. In her study of the upper echelons of society, Davidoff asserts that, on emerging from mourning, the individual, or even the whole family might have to "re-shuffle their social hand by the skilful play of cards and calls, especially if their social position had been enlarged or diminished by a change in financial circumstances" ⁷³. Such cards and calls might be the instruments utilised by upper- and middle-class widows in their bid to overcome any social and financial disadvantages inflicted by bereavement, but working-class women were also obliged to take action in order to ensure economic survival for themselves and their families. In her research, Roberts found that some working-class widows were able to support themselves and their offspring successfully, whereas others were less fortunate, especially if their children were very young. These latter women were likely to go and live with relatives, usually a widowed or unmarried male relative, to act as a housekeeper in return for financial support ⁷⁴.

Methodist personal accounts relating to the whole period researched also reveal instances, within both the working and middle classes, of families providing support in overcoming financial difficulties occasioned by bereavement. The death, at the age of 30, of the (weaver) father, of the future minister Joseph Barlow Brooks in the 1880s left the family impoverished. The deceased's belongings had to be sold in order to pay off his debts, and the Brooks' home abandoned. However, refuge was found within the extended family. Brooks' mother went to live with her nephew, and her children with their paternal grandparents. Later the family were reunited and went to live with Brooks' maternal grandmother ⁷⁵. "Officer", Greta Barker, was, with her mother and sisters, plunged into poverty on the death of her father. Prior to his death during the First World War the family had enjoyed a comfortable middle-class lifestyle which accorded with that of a clothier. Afterwards, however, Greta's mother was obliged to supplement the household income by sewing, and the family was grateful for the food parcels sent to them at Christmas by relatives who owned a farm ⁷⁶. In the same category, an entry for 1930 in the diaries of the middle-class Thomas Wright suggested that, since his brother Harold's death four years previously, Thomas had rendered his sister-in-law some financial aid, which, for some unspecified reason, was no longer required: "Martha brought me a 10/- note I had sent her...and pressed me to accept it saying she preferred to manage without it" ⁷⁷.

Sometimes Methodists received help from the wider "family" of the chapel. Within the "officer" category, in 1853, after her husband, John, died aged 44, leaving her with two young children (aged 18 months and 10 years): to support, Mary Boot struggled to keep the family business (which wholesaled and retailed herbal remedies) afloat. Her survival was mainly attributable to the support of her chapel friends ⁷⁸.

Regarding the wider society, Jalland pessimistically contends, "Widowhood was a final destiny, an involuntary commitment to a form of social exile" ⁸⁰. Indeed, within the Connexion, in contrast to Methodist widowers (who were frequently found to remarry ⁸¹), the paucity of examples of remarriage amongst bereaved Methodist wives endorsed the "finality" of their status, linking them with widows in the secular world ⁷⁹. However, there was no evidence to suggest banishment from their social circle. On the contrary, the above example of Mary Boot, and also that of the widowed Mrs Hesling whose chapel friends arranged for her son Bernard to continue his education ⁸², suggest that such women were still valued members of their chapel communities.

Spiritual and Emotional Consequences of Bereavement - (i) Optimism

Spiritual and emotional considerations could also impact greatly upon the lives of those left to mourn. The spiritual aspect of bereavement was of the utmost importance since it formed the bridge between this world and beliefs about the next. Nineteenth-and early twentieth century Methodist writings often emphasised this connection between the two realms, as illustrated by a Sunday-School publication of 1899 which depicted John Wesley as a supernatural link between God and mankind, by reporting that when he preached at the new Tunstall chapel, "He seemed like a messenger from heaven...something more than human" ⁸³. Moreover, according to a view expressed in 1910, when Primitive Methodism came to the town it "originated in a special flux from the spirit world" ⁸⁴. Supernatural beliefs could border upon the superstitious in their intensity, when, on a popular level, Methodism "sanitized and scripturalized" ⁸⁵ existing communal beliefs and practices. For instance, into the early twentieth century in the

fishing village of Staithes the preference for Sunday funerals was linked to the traditional belief, "if a body lays over a Sunday, there will be two more to follow" ⁸⁶. The persistence of such localised superstitions could have been fostered by the isolation of this working-class community.

A more general belief throughout Methodism was that the supernatural manifested itself through Divine Providence, which could provide comfort and good fortune for the righteous, or inflict punishment upon the wicked ⁸⁷. Methodist belief in striking accidents, or "particular providences", a "sort of ethereal revenge" for wrongdoing ⁸⁸, lasted throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. A Connexional article of 1849 accused disbelievers of underestimating God "whose penetrating eye pervades all space" ⁸⁹. It was believed that Providence could send death as a punishment for sin. A C Pratt, writing in 1891, recalled a Wolverhampton landlord who "was found dead in his chair" after evicting a Methodist class leader from his premises ⁹⁰. But sometimes the working of God was beyond the comprehension of man, a mystery recorded in both Connexional and Methodist personal writings. An official obituary of 1848 of a person who died aged only 29 reminded the reader that there were many "mysteries of Providence we must die to understand" ⁹¹. This sentiment was echoed by one "officer" personal account in 1872 when Cornelius Stovin wrote to his wife of the "Providential stroke of chastisement" visited on Mrs West when she died after giving birth to her ninth child. It was "an awful mystery" ⁹².

Since death was the work of Divine Providence, Methodist Officialdom of the second half of the nineteenth century expected the decease of a loved one to be accepted stalwartly by those left to mourn. A Connexional memoir of 1860 reported that, on the death of her son, Mrs Howorth "bowed in reverence to the will of God, acknowledging all to be

right" ⁹³. Another of 1866 recalled the death of Mrs Bargate's daughter: "but the mourning mother had long been taught that it is the Christian's duty to submit patiently, as well as to serve cheerfully" ⁹⁴. Nearly a decade later, after losing so many of her family in so short a period of time, the abovementioned Alice Smith was reported to have often said, "It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth Him good" ⁹⁵. For those bereaved parents who might be in danger of succumbing to grief, a Connexional article of 1870 admonished, "when the child is dead, he is beyond the reach of our prayers and our efforts, and after the first gush of sorrow has subsided...we should dry up our tears, and piously resume the duties of life" ⁹⁶.

"Officer" accounts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illustrate a passive acceptance of death amongst both working- and middle-class Methodists. In the mid-nineteenth century the young George Parkinson, then a miner, lost his first wife after a long and exhausting illness. Though saddened, he did not bemoan his fate, but rather took comfort from the Bible: "...while my path was dark and difficult...the Word became to me a bright light and a most effective lamp". The passive acceptance of bereavement as the will of God survived well into the twentieth century. At the death of his first wife in 1917 businessman Joseph Rank reasoned, "If... God had allowed this to come upon him it must be for a good purpose, and all would be well. He did not grieve for his wife. To do this would have been to deny his faith". On the death of his second wife in 1940: "Again his faith enabled him to sustain the blow. Religion did for him what wealth could never have done. It gave him serenity and peace; it saved him from disillusionment and cynicism" ⁹⁷.

However, stoicism was not confined to the religious. Vincent found that the effects of death had differing effects upon the nineteenth-century working class, depending upon age and position in family of the

deceased, but in most of the working-class autobiographies he studied, "The loss of a close relation was so bound up with the material problems of life that at worst it seemed no more than an intensification of the misery of existence" ⁹⁸. In her study, which reached into the first four decades of the next century, Roberts reported, "...in the acceptance of death can be found both the seeds and the nurturing of the fatalism which was so widely felt by both working-class women and men" ⁹⁹.

Moreover, "respectably" endorsed consolation literature, a major element of the so-called "Victorian cult of death" ¹⁰⁰, was designed to assuage the grief of bereavement and foster a submission to death. For those who believed in an existence beyond the grave, this genre, according to Wheeler, reflected a "shared language of consolation...grounded in a specifically Christian hope, and was not merely a symptom of evasion, repression or wish-fulfilment in the face of death and bereavement" ¹⁰¹. Jalland reveals the wide scope and relevance of such writings. Poetry might be published ¹⁰². Anthologies of Scripture and consoling verse might be compiled by the bereaved for private consumption ¹⁰³. In some cases memorials appeared in the form of written recollections of the life of the deceased - either for the consolation of the writer and the deceased's immediate family, or, more rarely, for a wider audience. Many of these texts concentrated in detail on the last days and death of the subject. Those, including Quakers, who were averse to the external trappings of grief (such as mourning apparel and monuments), or those who had no religious belief, may have found comfort in such memories of the deceased ¹⁰⁴.

A major element in those works which charted the last days of earthly existence was the deathbed scene, an important instrument in the provision of reassurance to the bereaved. This prominent event of the "Victorian cult of death" was "set firmly in a temporal context, but

perceived within the larger horizon of the eternal" ¹⁰⁵. It was a drama, portraying the "horizontal" process of passing from life into death, punctuated by two "vertical" events, anticipation of death, and moment of death. Before the former, and after the latter lay the "fixed" states of life and death respectively, but between the two lay the liminal state of dying, which formed the heart of the set piece ¹⁰⁶. Several actors were involved, for the dying person needed an audience of family and friends to observe and participate in events.

Many within the Connexion, like their counterparts in the non-Methodist world, placed great importance on consolation literature. For such persons as these, the misery of earthly existence was, for the saved, but a preparation for everlasting joy in an eternal life, reached by passing through the portal of death. Rack asserts that, "Almost as important for the early Methodists as a life well lived was a death well died" ¹⁰⁷. However, this contention was still apparently valid within the Connexion at both an institutional and personal level in the second half of the nineteenth century and beyond. An official article of 1879 affirmed: "the manner of a person's life is the surest index of the kind of death he will die" ¹⁰⁸. Personal accounts also attested to the importance of the deathbed. Moreover, such drama was not only transmitted via Methodist writings, it could also be conveyed by oral means, as in Bowers Row, where, in the early decades of the twentieth century, details of those dying well were often related within the chapel to serve as an example to others ¹⁰⁹. More radically, a Connexional article of 1910 recommended the new experimental medium of television as a possible future channel for the conveyance of deathbed scenes to family and friends unable to be present at the bedside ¹¹⁰.

A main feature of the deathbed scene was the last words of the dying, the presence of which was designed to give comfort to those left to

mourn. Final utterances were recorded in official Methodist obituaries, chiefly those of the nineteenth century. They were also discovered in "ministerial" and middle-class "officer" personal accounts. Optimistic imagery of joy and happiness was a particularly potent force for conveying reassurance to those in attendance upon the dying ¹¹¹. Although by the mid-nineteenth century expressions of happiness tended to be less exclamatory than in earlier years ¹¹², a tendency to joy was still apparent in the second half of the century, as illustrated by the 1868 official obituary: "[she] often uttered expressions of gratitude to God....[and was] unspeakably happy" ¹¹³.

"Officer" and "ministerial" personal accounts from amongst the middle class also recorded happiness at the prospect of dying. Within the former category, in 1872 farmer Cornelius Stovin related the death of a poor unfortunate who had fallen under a steam engine. The victim remained conscious to within two hours of his death, managing to provide "a silver lining to the cloud", namely, to give "testimony to his acceptance with God and his joyful anticipation of soon being in heaven"¹¹⁴.

Joy might also be expressed in singing or in the recitation of verse. Dying persons could exhibit extraordinary energy in their rendition of (sometimes, several verses of) hymns, even in the face of excruciating pain. An official obituary of 1874 recorded that, though her "heart and flesh were failing", Eliza Jane Blunt, managed "Shall we gather at the river" ¹¹⁵. Although it was unclear whether the verse was spoken or sung by his dying sister, the autobiographical recollections of minister and Connexional editor Benjamin Gregory, published in 1903, recorded her last words as:

"Yea, Amen! Let all adore Thee'
High on Thy eternal throne;
Saviour, take the power and glory'

Claim the kingdom for Thine own;
 Ja! Jehova!
 Everlasting God, come down!" ¹¹⁶

Joy could be expressed through facial expression, a phenomenon reflected in secular literature of the nineteenth century, as in *Wuthering Heights*, where the dead Cathy "lies with a sweet smile on her face" ¹¹⁷. Happiness was often manifested in this "smile of death" in Connexional accounts, exemplified by an official obituary of 1857: "A placid smile was upon the dying countenance....A momentary sigh followed by an eternity of joy" ¹¹⁸. This phenomenon continued into the next century. A Connexional account of 1915 recorded, "...she peacefully passed away, leaving her happy smile lingering upon the mortal face" ¹¹⁹.

Personal writings of Methodists in the twentieth century yield similar examples. In 1903 after middle-class "rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate had viewed the body of her deceased sweetheart, Ewart, she recalled, "I saw how lovely he looked and what a beautiful smile was on his face" ¹²⁰. This comment, taken from an account not intended for publication, tends to confirm the reliability of official sources regarding the "smile of death". Within the same social stratum, in 1927 W E Moss recorded the death of temperance campaigner, Mrs Lewis, which had taken place three years previously. On the point of death: "Slowly she opened her eyes with the look of one who awakened from a pleasant dream. For a moment they rested upon her beloved husband's face and she smiled" ¹²¹.

Sometimes ecstasy bordered upon the erotic, as death was portrayed in terms of reunion with a lover, bride, or bridegroom. An official obituary of 1857 recorded the death of Mary Carr, a sudden event, but one for which she was prepared: "her lamp was trimmed and burning, when the bridegroom came". Another Connexional memoir of 1869 recalled the

dying Mary Sheale exclaiming, "When I hear the Bridegroom's voice I may go forth to meet him with joy" ¹²².

Imagery of happiness could manifest itself in triumph and victory. Although the number and intensity of ecstatic exclamations had diminished in Connexional obituaries by the second half of the nineteenth century ¹²³, a sermon of 1856 included amongst those biblical phrases quoted by "myriads" of the dying numerous examples of expressions of victory, as illustrated by "O Grave where is thy victory? O Death where is thy sting?" ¹²⁴.

Official Methodist writings of the nineteenth century further consoled the bereaved by the thought that death was a refuge from "this vale of tears" ¹²⁵. Many last utterances related by Connexional literature included the phrase, "I am on the Rock" ¹²⁶. In particular, those such as colliers, who had endured especially hazardous occupations, could now anticipate a safe haven, as illustrated by the lines, "The coals may fall and crush you down, / The damp may stop your breath. / A glorious change awaits your souls, /....A seat upon the throne" ¹²⁷. Although Methodist personal accounts evinced no great desire amongst subjects to escape from the dangers of a hostile world, nevertheless, Bullock recalled the dying of the mining community of Bowers Row being reassured by the preacher that they were leaving a hard life for a happier state¹²⁸.

Personal writings of middle-class Methodists amongst all categories did, however, amply echo Officialdom's perception of death as peace, a rest from earthly toil. Commonplace amongst Connexional obituaries throughout the period covered by this research were phrases such as, "fell asleep" ¹²⁹, often "without a struggle or a groan" ¹³⁰, "summoned to rest" ¹³¹, and "fell on sleep" ¹³². Similar imagery abounded throughout

middle-class Methodist personal accounts. In 1849 "rank-and-file" journalist Samuel Bamford recorded that, on her deathbed, Catherine, his first sweetheart, contemplated "The grave as little as my bed" ¹³³. In 1887 minister's daughter Helen McKenny recorded the last words of the grandmother of her friend Nellie Gregory: "Yes, I have peace" ¹³⁴. "Rank-and-filer" Ruth Slate felt that Ewart was "resting in peace" ¹³⁵. Upwardly socially mobile "officer" George Parkinson, writing in 1910, referred to his first wife, who "entered into rest" ¹³⁶. Within the same category, when in 1927 draughtsman Thomas Wright rushed to the bedside of his dying mother: "...just as I got there Mother passed away, peacefully, beautifully, no struggle, not words" ¹³⁷. Since it was not intended for publication, the testimony of McKenny, Slate and Wright tends to affirm the validity of official literature in its depiction of death as peace.

The transition of life into death could have strong ethereal overtones, as the believer passed from the darkness of this world to the light of Heaven. An official obituary of 1848 reported that, at the moment of her husband's death, the widow of the Rev. Joseph Marsh recalled, "The room seemed filled with the divine presence and glory" ¹³⁸. The 1869 Connexional memoirs recorded that when Mary Sheale died, "The light of heaven streamed into our souls" ¹³⁹, and as Caroline Wilson died, "the room seemed filled with glory, harmony and light" ¹⁴⁰. Similar imagery was employed by Methodist novelists: when Elizabeth Farrington's cousin, Maria, died, she "went to sleep one night in a country whose stones are of iron, and awoke next morning in a country whose pavements are of gold" ¹⁴¹. Methodist personal accounts of "ministerial" and "officer" subjects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attested to these phenomena. Within the former category, in 1887 Helen McKenny recorded the "supernatural light" in the face of Nellie Gregory's dying grandmother ¹⁴², Such an experience, privately confided to a journal,

attests to its authenticity, or at least to the genuineness of belief within the writer as to its validity. On the other hand, the account found in the publication of working-class "officer" Bullock leaves the researcher in some doubt concerning the soundness of such experiences. He recalled that in early twentieth-century Bower's Row families gathered around a deathbed often "heard" a heavenly choir singing an anthem to welcome the arrival of a new soul. However, he pointed out that it was believed that only the "saved" were able to detect the heavenly voices. Consequently, there were few who admitted to not having heard the music ¹⁴³.

Deathbed accounts could evoke the sentimentalised and reassuring picture of heaven as home, imagery also evident in nineteenth century writing outside Methodism, exemplified in E H Bickersteth's epic poem, *Yesterday, To-day and For Ever*: "For I am going to our happy home, / Jerusalem the golden..." ¹⁴⁴, and also in Helen Burn's statement in *Jane Eyre*, that she was going "to home, my home - my last home" ¹⁴⁵. The numerous depictions of heaven as home occurred in both the nineteenth and twentieth century Connexional publications, and included last words of the Reverend John Livingston, published in 1857: "I am going home - going to glory" ¹⁴⁶; those of Mrs Lancaster Ball (1900): "I want to go home, the carriage is waiting" ¹⁴⁷; and the description of Florence Hunter (1925), who "was not yet twenty-two years of age when God called her home" ¹⁴⁸. This imagery was also discovered within the "officer" accounts of the middle class. On the death of his grandmother in 1916, Thomas Wright recorded: "Dear old grandma died at 8pm. 85 years old. Happy release. Said she was ready to go home" ¹⁴⁹. Again, an unpublished instance of personal belief attests to the adherence by those within the Methodist membership to Connexional perceptions of death.

The bereaved might have been comforted by the assurance that this home was a place of reunion, where families and friends would be united for eternity, a promise affirmed in official Methodist writing well into the twentieth century. In fact, this imagery was amongst the strongest employed by Connexional consolation writing. The author of an official obituary of 1850, after recalling the spiritual career and virtues of his subject, the itinerant George Timbury, remarked, "On the 11th, he and one of my children were interred in the burial-ground in front of our chapel at Wallingford. May I meet his departed spirit and that of my child in paradise" ¹⁵⁰. A Connexional memoir of 1885 recorded an extract from the diary of the deceased written on the occasion of her husband's funeral: "The dear children followed an affectionate father to the grave sorrowing; but not as those without hope. May we all have a happy reunion in heaven at last, through the merits of Christ. Amen" ¹⁵¹. The 1900 official obituary of the Reverend John Hutchinson Norton recalled that the deceased was convinced that he would be reunited with his late wife: "She will be yonder to meet me when my turn comes". The biographer son emphasised that, after his mother's death, his father, assured of a future reunion, "had no disposition to brood over his loss" ¹⁵². Two decades later another obituary informed the reader that Mr W Petch "leaves a wife...and three sons - all looking for the grand reunion" ¹⁵³. Moreover, by this date, obituaries in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* appear under the heading "Our Friends Above", an implication in itself of the continuation of ties between those in this world and the next, and a likely expression of hope for a future meeting between the two parties.

Methodist personal accounts of "ministerial" and "officer" subjects within the working- and middle-classes also attested to the belief in reunion beyond the grave, examples occurring well into the twentieth century. In the mining village of Bowers Row in the first decades of the

century the family would each approach the deathbed and, either taking the hand of the dying person, or placing a hand on his or her forehead, often say "See you in heaven" ¹⁵⁴. Within the middle class, on the birth of his stillborn son in 1932 minister Leslie Weatherhead recorded in his journal: "I am sure he is alive somewhere...I know I shall see him in the Morning" ¹⁵⁵. Within the "officer" division, Douglas Cock, reporter for the *Methodist Recorder*, recalled that, in 1934, his grandfather, after suffering a slight stroke at the age of 94, decided it was time to die, and so refused both food and drink, dying in the assurance he would be united with his wife" ¹⁵⁶.

Spiritual and Emotional Consequences of Bereavement - (ii) Distress

However, not all within the Connexion accepted death so cheerfully or submissively. As in other aspects of domestic life, response to family bereavement was heterogeneous in nature. Even the employment of consolation literature was suspect. Although the common themes of both Methodist official and personal writings did reveal a "shared language", positively reflecting the Christian aspirations of salvation to a higher existence, where all live in the love of God, the very presence of repeated themes and phraseology might have simply reflected conformity to established religious discourse, so bringing into question the authenticity of accounts. In addition, although he refers to an earlier period than that spanned by this thesis, E P Stigant's contention that such accounts aimed to show to the world beyond the Connexion the stoicism of the Methodist facing death, could also hold some truth for the years covered by this research ¹⁵⁷, although the extent to which Methodist literature was enjoyed outside the movement is difficult to quantify. However, the fact that the majority of optimistic accounts were found amongst those of the middle class also suggests a

"respectable" concern to present a dignified composure in the face of bereavement. Moreover, it can be argued that the very compliance with the conventions of consolation literature suggested uncertainty and doubt. The employment of sentimental and emotive imagery of joy, peace, home, and reunion in a place free from earthly toil and injustice in itself pointed to underlying, subconscious fears or misgivings concerning death, which were evaded or repressed by the reassurance offered by the optimistic testimony and composure of the dying.

Furthermore, changes in the format and content of Methodist consolation writing did take place as the period of this research progressed. In particular, the portrayal of a "good" death appeared to play a decreasingly important part in providing comfort to the bereaved. For instance, by the turn of the twentieth century, though a small minority of personal accounts attested to the recording of last words¹⁵⁸, such examples were rare. Similarly, by the first decades of the century official obituaries rarely recorded final utterances¹⁵⁹, or, indeed, any substantial detail of the final days of the deceased.

Such developments can be explained by changes in the secular world. For instance, at first sight, the decline of the deathbed scene appears to support Jalland's assertion that, after the turn of the twentieth century, "society's concern with death was likely to decline once mortality rates fell and life expectancy rose, allowing death to be perceived as a natural and timely event concluding a long life"¹⁶⁰. More likely, however, the phenomenon was indicative of a growing doubt concerning death, coupled with a reluctance to allow spiritual phraseology to distort emotions. Indeed, the decreasing emphasis placed upon details of the dying process was not necessarily correlative with any diminution of grief nor decline in the need for reassurance and consolation among the bereaved.

However, in trying to ascertain emotions of bereavement the researcher faces a serious obstacle, namely, the reticence inherent in many personal accounts. Such Methodist reserve reflected that of the secular world. In his study of the nineteenth-century working class, Vincent found that emotions induced by death, or the event of death itself may be summarily passed over, or even ignored in many working-class autobiographies. He asserts that grief, being not necessarily verbal, requires no expression, a truth especially relevant to that sector of society least given to the use of words ¹⁶¹. Such working-class reluctance to discuss personal emotions was aptly exemplified by Christopher Thomson's brief mention of his mother "hastening to a premature grave" ¹⁶².

Nevertheless, any purported homogeneity amongst Methodists in this respect was undermined by the substantial amount of subjects who demonstrated no such reluctance to voice their feelings about bereavement. Besides the numerous Methodist personal accounts which employed the reassuring phraseology of Officialdom (exemplified in those cited above), this research has revealed other instances in all categories and social classes of subject in which the emotions of the bereaved were not only overtly displayed, but also were seen to be demonstrably different from, or even in conflict with the stoicism advocated by the Connexion. Accounts spanning the whole period of this research portrayed instances of doubts and distress openly breaking through, a notable example of which being that of "rank-and-file" journalist Samuel Bamford. Writing in 1849, he recalled the loss of five close members of his family in a smallpox epidemic when he was a child: "What a void there was around us...Surely 'the bitterness of death' is in the lonesome desolation of the living" ¹⁶³.

The death of a spouse often left the survivor of the couple with crushing and enduring grief, even when bereavement occurred in old-age, a tragedy even acknowledged by Officialdom. A Connexional account of 1895 described an elderly superannuated preacher visiting the town where his wife had been buried 12 years previously. At the graveside the writer could see that "the old man's heart was still hungry for the love of her who was sleeping beneath" ¹⁶⁴. Methodist personal accounts of "officer" and "ministerial" subjects, from both working- and middle-class backgrounds, concurred. On the death of his wife in 1909 minister James Flanagan (who came from a working-class background) experienced "a deep sense of solitude. The 'passing' was the dawn of her morning - it was the beginning of his night". Friends noticed that his "tide of energy was ebbing, and there was a weariness in his gait" ¹⁶⁵. The middle-class Reverend Frederick Macdonald recalled his "supreme bereavement" which took place during the summer of 1909 - the death of his wife after 43 years of marriage ¹⁶⁶. Grief could hasten the death of the widower. Writing of his childhood years in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, working-class "officer" subject Thomas Carter recalled the widower of chapel stalwart Mrs Hodgkinson, who, though apparently healthy, died six months after his wife: "Some sorrow finds relief in tears and outward manifestation. His sorrow went deep and killed him" ¹⁶⁷. Higher up in the social stratum, within the "ministerial" category, Henry Hartley Fowler was devastated by the death of his wife in January 1911. Already in ill health, he followed her to the grave the next month ¹⁶⁸. Similarly, within the Macdonald family, the grief stricken John Lockwood Kipling died in January 1911, a mere two months after the death of his wife Alice ¹⁶⁹.

Such evidence of widowers hastening to their graves in the wake of their wives' deaths echoes the findings of Jalland's study on secular Victorian society ¹⁷⁰. In fact it was a phenomenon which, according to

other research also done on the wider society, survived well beyond the period covered by this thesis ¹⁷¹.

Widows could also be devastated at the loss of their spouses. Although Methodist personal accounts do not reveal such extreme examples of chronic grief as those illustrated by Jalland's research ¹⁷², nevertheless severe suffering was apparent amongst accounts of certain middle-class "officer" subjects. On the death of his friend, James Miller, in 1914, Thomas Wright recorded: "Mr and Mrs Miller were so together that Mrs Miller dare not contemplate life lived without him"¹⁷³. Similarly, Greta Barker recalled that her mother was grief stricken by the death of her father in 1917 ¹⁷⁴.

Middle-class "ministerial" and "officer" accounts of the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries revealed that sibling death could also deal a sad blow. Although minister Frederick Macdonald had not seen his brother, Henry, for many years, in 1891, on hearing of the latter's final illness, he hastened over to his home in New York only to arrive the day Henry died. Sadly, Frederick recalled, "My own grief was not to be measured by the amount of our intimacy during the later years. It had its roots in our early life, in our common parentage, and in memories and associations dear and sacred to both of us" ¹⁷⁵. In 1926, when his brother Harold, aged only 35, died of septic pneumonia, "officer" Thomas Wright recorded, "Great blow for me, for I had more than a brother's love and respect for him. We were friends and confidants" ¹⁷⁶.

Wright's grief may have been exacerbated by the loss of a brother at such a young age at a time when rising life expectancy made longevity increasingly the norm in society at large. Research has revealed a whole spectrum of responses towards premature death within all sectors of

society at large. For instance, amongst her nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class subjects Jalland found reactions to children's death extended from stoicism to despair ¹⁷⁷. Similarly, Roberts' study emphasised the heterogeneous nature of attitudes towards child mortality during the latter decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries. The spectrum of responses from her working-class subjects ranged from being distraught, to acceptance as an inevitable part of life (the majority view), to relief at having fewer mouths to feed ¹⁷⁸. Mrs Pember Reeves' Lambeth study at the turn of the twentieth century reported the passive acceptance by one bereaved mother who "cried a very little, but went on much as usual.." ¹⁷⁹. However, Vincent contends that though poverty often cushioned the loss of a child, it did not obliterate affection ¹⁸⁰.

Although there was no evidence of relief being expressed at the death of a child, Methodists' attitudes towards the loss of an offspring manifested a heterogeneity similar to that of the secular world, a diversity of responses being presented by subjects belonging to all categories and social classes. For instance, in Staithes, Clark found that strong concern was engendered by deaths of babies, expressed in feelings about the burying of the unbaptised, a shocking event which was to be avoided if at all possible. To this end the midwife would christen any child thought unlikely to survive. Into the 1930s those who remained unbaptised were condemned to burial without rites, the still-born assigned to the back of the graveyard in unmarked graves. "Still-born children fail to resolve their liminality and must remain for ever 'betwixt, and between' social states" - neither unborn nor entering fully into human life ¹⁸¹.

The character of custom and belief could be influenced by the nature of the location. The practice of burying still-born children without

ceremony in unmarked graves was not unique to Staithes. On the contrary, it appeared within the wider society into the twentieth century, as exemplified by Roberts' research. However, the persistence of folk beliefs apparently peculiar to individual communities, such as that which assigned the unbaptised to a state of limbo, could have been fostered by the isolation of such working-class communities as Staithes¹⁸².

This research attests to the great stoicism which could be shown in the face of the loss of a child. Amongst the "rank-and-file", one of Roberts' (upwardly socially mobile) Methodist subjects did not recall her mother being too upset at the death of four babies: "I suppose life had to go on! We three had to be looked after and we were youngsters"¹⁸³. Resilience in the face of grief among the "officer" category was represented by the middle-class Wright family. On the day of the funeral of his small daughter, Margaret, in 1922, Thomas recorded: "E[thel] kept up very fine. She has been brave over this". Within a month of this entry Ethel had resumed social activities which included playing tennis and golf with her friends ¹⁸⁴.

On the other hand, numerous examples can be found in the personal accounts of both "ministerial" and "officer" subjects which revealed the great emotional upheaval induced by the death of a young child. These examples span the whole period of this thesis, and apply to both middle- and working-class Methodists. Within the middle class, in a letter written in 1856, two years after the death of her 16 year old daughter, Caroline, Hannah, wife of the Reverend George Macdonald, wrote, "Oh! How often have I knelt by the side of the bed since then, sometimes agonizing in prayer for entire submission to a loss that still wrings my heart" ¹⁸⁵. Again, within the "ministerial" families, but lower down the social scale, Thomas Raymont recalled that his mother lost 5 of her

13 children in infancy or childhood, never recovering from one, Caroline, who died at the age of 15 months in 1858 ¹⁸⁶. Within the same social background, when two of his sons died of whooping cough in 1874 minister Thomas Champness was devastated. Although he managed to conduct the funeral service himself, the strain was evident, as he recorded in his journal the following day: "March 19 was very ill; and I thought I too should die" ¹⁸⁷. Within the "officer" category, working-class Thomas Carter mentioned his aunt, who was mentally affected after the deaths of four of her children within a week from fever. He remembered seeing her only once (when he was a young child in the 1880s) - on which occasion she tapped his nose with a wooden hammer ¹⁸⁸. Finally, although his wife appeared to cope bravely with the loss of their daughter, "officer" Thomas Wright described himself, "Distressed with grief - an entirely new and unforgettable experience" ¹⁸⁹.

Influence of External Events - (i) The First World War and Spiritualism.

The above examples of divergence from the Connexionally promoted optimism concerning bereavement span the period of this research. However, Jalland asserts that it was the First World War which largely destroyed any remaining Victorian resources enabling families to view death positively. The meaning of life and death, she contends, were now transformed, the latter now perceived in opposition to the former, rather than its culmination: "The Great War destroyed the links with hundreds of years of Christian history which had taught the importance of the good death and the hope of eternal life" ¹⁹⁰, a time of unprecedented, unnatural, violent and premature death away from home ¹⁹¹.

There was insufficient evidence found to confirm Jalland's opinion concerning the magnitude of the influence wielded by the hostilities.

However, personal accounts of Methodists did reveal a changing attitude to death during the period of the War. Although there was no apparent alteration in his religious faith, minister Samuel Collier's reaction to the loss of his two sons in the War was a sharp contrast to his reaction to the death of a son who died in infancy in 1897. In the latter instance, although the child lay unburied, Collier was able to preach as normal on the Sunday following the death, declaring, "If I were a working-man I'd have to go to work just the same. I mustn't shirk my duty". However, the loss of two sons during one week during the hostilities affected him permanently and profoundly. He was "never quite the same again...He made no parade of pain; but he went about like a man deeply wounded, whose wound bled inwardly" ¹⁹².

Although Collier was broken by his bereavements, Jalland contends, "Death was effectively removed from the domain of the family and became instead a communal sacrifice for the nation - death could no longer be mourned by individual families" ¹⁹³, an opinion endorsed by J M Winter: "the individuality of death had been buried under literally millions of corpses" ¹⁹⁴. This notion of death being "divorced" from the immediate family accords with the Connexional presentation of the hostilities as a holy war. As Turner asserts, the majority of Free Church leaders saw the war as "a fight for Christianity against paganism, of right against might, of liberty against cruel tyranny, for humanity against the wiles of the Devil" ¹⁹⁵. Consequently, Methodists, such as A S Peake, who identified themselves with the cause of humane treatment for conscientious objectors after the introduction of conscription in 1916, found themselves in the minority ¹⁹⁶ in a Church which, according to a Connexional article of 1915, embraced the conflict as a "spiritual war", involving "the very principle of righteousness for which the Christian Church stands" in its resistance to the "sinister nature and design of the German menace" ¹⁹⁷.

Connexional wartime articles, such as the regular series, "Chats About Patriotism", further attempted to shift bereavement from a personal to a more public sphere by equating citizenship with family membership - "belonging to the great family which comprises what we call our country"¹⁹⁸. Thus the war was elevated to a patriotic defence of God's will against the forces of evil by the nation "family". Consequently, the death of a family member should be borne with appropriate publicly displayed dignity, exemplified in the Connexional obituary of the Reverend S J Sullings, who died of enteric fever, contracted in Gallipoli in 1915. Though this memoir was almost three columns in length, any mention of the feelings of personal loss within his family was confined to a final reassurance of the widow's stoicism: "We must not venture to speak of the present home or spirit of the lonely widow, except to say her friends - and there are many - thank God for the noble spirit in which she bears such a loss" ¹⁹⁹.

Methodist personal accounts also exemplified this notion of noble sacrifice in the person of minister J Scott Lidgett, whose autobiography displayed appropriate patriotically proud but muted reactions to a loss of his son, John Cuthbert, his "right hand man before the Great War carried him away to serve his King and Country with cheerful bravery until he made the supreme sacrifice on Palm Sunday, March 24, 1918". Lidgett proudly recorded the testimony of John's commanding officer: "that he could be trusted for any duties, and that 'he could not have died a braver or a nobler death'" ²⁰⁰.

In addition, Connexional writing frequently attempted to assuage personal grief by availing itself of two of the traditional devices of consolation literature - the knowledge a loved one died in a state of grace, and the employment of "other-worldly" reassurance. "Private

Foster's Mother" utilised both of these themes. In this tale a widow's only son, Jim, enlisted in the army after his sweetheart had married his best friend, Bert. Despite her pleadings, Jim's mother was unable to persuade her son to forgive his erstwhile friend, and he departed for war swearing revenge upon the wrongdoer. After the widow heard her son's voice telling her that, "it's all right now", she received a telegram informing her of his death. A short time later she received a letter from Bert telling her of Jim's bravery and honourable actions - he had been killed rescuing Bert, who, himself, had been shot. Moreover, the dying Jim forgave Bert, the knowledge of which comforted the bereaved mother and made her face shine "with a serene and heavenly light" ²⁰¹.

The transmission of a message between the dead son and his mother highlights, if inadvertently, a system of belief which gained in popularity within the secular society during the period of hostilities, namely, spiritualism. This movement not only believed in the immortality of the soul, but also in the ability to communicate with the dead through mediums, thus enabling that popular feature of consolation literature, reunion with the dead, to be undertaken by those still inhabiting the earthly sphere. The organisation, which had originated in the USA in the 1840s, arrived in England in the 1850s, when it was initially regarded as an amusing pastime by the upper and middle classes, involving "much table-tapping at private 'home circles', some frauds, and little organisation" ²⁰².

Personal accounts revealed this entertainment occurring in middle-class Methodist homes, exemplified in that of the "ministerial" Macdonald family, where, in the early 1850s, daughters Georgiana and Alice organised séances at which they devised a means of making the table turn - an achievement which impressed parents and visitors who

were also participating in this entertainment. However, the girls made no attempt to employ such means to communicate with their sister, Caroline, after her death in 1854 ²⁰³.

As the century wore on, not only did spiritualism grow in popularity in secular society, but it began to be taken more seriously - no longer viewed as a parlour game, but a phenomenon worthy of scientific investigation, as illustrated by the foundation in 1882 of the Society for Psychical Research by a group of Cambridge philosophers and scientists ²⁰⁴. By the 1890s there was an attempt to organise a national federation of spiritualist societies of which there were 45 in 1892; and 141 by 1913 ²⁰⁵.

However, despite the increasing popularity of the movement within the wider world, Methodist Officialdom was unconvinced of its efficacy. An article of 1895 did not deny the authenticity of reported happenings at séances: "It has always been proclaimed that we live in the midst of a spiritual as well as material environment....it is very likely that the universe may contain a few agenciesabout which man knows nothing", and appreciated the desire of the bereaved "to follow the loved and lost within the veil, if only for a little space". Nevertheless, the writer was of the opinion, "I can only think that such experiments, like those in toxicology or with high explosives, are far better left alone by save the few" ²⁰⁶. Amongst the dangers inherent in communication with the dead was the prospect of reaching a "lying spirit". Moreover, the similarity between spiritualism and necromancy was emphasised, the reader being reminded that the latter was condemned by the Bible: "It is more than doubtful then, whether we are entitled to claim divine assistance, or in other words, to ask God's blessing on any inquisitive researches in the region of the unseen" ²⁰⁷. These views were still upheld by the Connexion over 20 years later when a further article condemned "invoked

intercourse between the dead and the living" as coming "under the catalogue of things forbidden" ²⁰⁸.

This latter writer did, nevertheless, acknowledge that spiritualism owed its increased popularity to the perceived failure of the orthodox Churches to meet the emotional needs of the bereaved during the recent War. At a time when "the air was filled with the cries of bereaved, mothers crying for their sons, and wives for their husbands....Much was expected of the Church, and all the Church could do was to sympathise with them, and tell them to lean on God, and to wait His time for Revelation". But, she went on to condemn spiritualism, which had been born out of impatience, as a quick and easy answer to twentieth-century man and woman to whom "Everything must be immediate, and given with unequivocal proof" ²⁰⁹.

Turner concedes that it is difficult to ascertain the numerical effects of the War on the membership. Although, on the one hand, its disruptions did not appear to have caused a mass exodus from the Methodist movement, he acknowledged, quoting the words of Trevor Wilson: that "Whereas the Church of England might survive, and even prosper from, identification with the nation in arms, such identification did violence to the genius of Nonconformity" ²¹⁰. In her research, however, Jalland detected a general move away from organized religion in society at large, which showed itself in both falling Church membership and oral evidence ²¹¹. She also discovered an increasing interest in less established beliefs, recording James Obelkevich's assertion that: "religious responses of a less orthodox kind were actually stimulated by the war" ²¹². The popularity of spiritualism was fuelled by the wishes of the bereaved to contact those killed in the War. In 1919 the number affiliated to the spiritualist movement had doubled from that of 1913, and it was further enhanced by the conversion of such public figures as

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Sir Oliver Lodge. By the 1930s it was estimated that a quarter of a million were affiliated to this group, a figure which excluded those interested in or sharing the beliefs of the movement on a more informal or casual basis ²¹³.

There was no evidence to suggest that spiritualism excited more than a limited interest amongst Methodists. Nevertheless, the fact that it provoked official comment implied a fear on the part of the Connexion that it had elicited at least some support amongst its membership. Indeed, within "ministerial" circles spiritualism found a convert in Leslie Weatherhead. Described by his biographer son as having a mind "drawn towards the ragged edges of the rational, where scientific explanations broke down to give scope to wonder" ²¹⁴, he became a member of the Society for Psychical Research, and a regular attender at séances, to which he was regularly accompanied by a war widow, and during one of which he claimed to have been contacted by John Wesley ²¹⁵.

Influence of External Events - (ii) Eschatological Debate.

Belief in spiritualism was not, however, the only manifestation of changing thought and attitude towards death and bereavement in the wider society, or indeed, within the Methodist movement. In the mid-1920s, Weatherhead, inspired by the bereavements suffered in the war, published his book, *After Death* (subtitled, "A Popular Statement of the Modern Christian View of Life Beyond the Grave"), which laid emphasis on the doctrine of God the Father. His biographer son described the book as: "a liberal exegesis :hell is relative, temporary, and subjective; judgement is self-judgement; the forgiveness of God is absolute" ²¹⁶. In its attempt to give reassurance to the bereaved, this work might be perceived merely as an extension or development of the more traditional

consolation literature. However, the book's liberal stance also aligns with wider changes in eschatological reasoning which had been taking place for many years in numerous denominations, an evolution of thought whereby destinies after death were perceived as less condemnatory than some of those formerly decreed.

Methodism had been typical of the Evangelical movement of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries in its concentration on ruin, redemption and regeneration ²¹⁷. Traditionally, the Methodist movement espoused the "common view", according to which the impenitent sinner entered on death, "irreversible doom to endless tortures", without hope of remission ²¹⁸. Traditional Methodist doctrine designated humanity as innately sinful. It was condemned, as John Wesley asserted, "soul and body; [to] death temporal, spiritual and eternal" ²¹⁹. Since "In Adam all die", the whole of mankind was doomed ²²⁰. This doctrine of Original Sin, by advocating the "inbred and universal corruption of human nature", encompassed even young children, since they also "run to evil" ²²¹. Furthermore, according to John Fletcher, the miseries of this life, not being sufficient punishment for "our desperate wickedness", merely made way "for the pangs of death" ²²². The emphasis on death was further underlined by espousal of the doctrine of substitutionary atonement: "By the death of Christ a full penalty was rendered for sin...He undertook to be surety for all who believe" ²²³. Crucicentrism formed a dominant feature of Methodist thought during the eighteenth century, a tendency still detectable in mid-nineteenth century hymnody and verse ²²⁴.

Salvation from eternal death could be attained only by a spiritual rebirth. In Wesley's words, "You must be born again, or you will never gain a uniform and lasting liberty" ²²⁵. Central to the saving of souls was hell fire preaching, which, according to W E H Lecky, identified

Methodism as that "appalling system of religious terrorism" ²²⁶. This mode of preaching formed a crucial part of the "emotional drama" of the chapel, which was played out in events including love-feasts, watch-nights, band-meetings ²²⁷. Eighteenth century satirists frequently ridiculed the often violent and dramatic nature of spiritual regeneration or conversion, depicting these rituals as excuses for improper behaviour ²²⁸. However, public paroxysms of spiritual anguish were also met with scepticism by some contemporary Methodists, including even Wesley himself ²²⁹. In addition, this early drama of salvation may have been exaggerated by commentators ²³⁰. Nevertheless, "tears and groans" of potential converts, dropping from their seats "like persons with paralitick strokes" ²³¹, frequently formed the dramatic centrepiece of many memoirs and obituaries of revered Methodists of the eighteenth and (especially early) nineteenth centuries ²³².

However, the eschatological debate concerning destinies of the redeemed and the damned, which exercised many minds especially during the nineteenth century, rejected such violent imagery inherent in the "common view". For instance, writing in the 1850s, the influential Anglican scholar F D Maurice maintained that the essential pains of hell were embodied, not in eternal physical torture, but by deprivation of God ²³³. In a sermon of 1877 F W Farrar wanted the Church of England to restore "the ancient belief in an intermediate state", with its offer of God's love and mercy ²³⁴. This more humane view was also promulgated in the 1860s in works of T R Birks, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, who refuted any idea of lost souls perpetually tormenting each other, or being tormented by Satan ²³⁵, an approach rejected by others in the Alliance who tried to have him ejected.

However, whereas Maurice had been dismissed from his professorial chair at King's College in 1853 for his views, Birks managed not only to retain membership of the Alliance, but proceeded to a Cambridge professorship in the late 1860s, reflecting greater acceptance of a softer interpretation of the doctrine. A further step in liberalisation was universalism. As early as the mid-eighteenth century, the Unitarian David Hartley's "associational psychology" had linked mental and physical changes, and advocated a future existence as a corporal state in which the wicked survive, having had the "Stains of Sin" burned out of them ²³⁶. Even more radically, the Anglican Andrew Jukes, an influential universalist of the 1870s, saw death as a positive event after which believers acted as channels for reconciliation between God and unbelievers ²³⁷.

Such universalist views were espoused by Leslie Weatherhead, who also endorsed the view of death as a positive event, an entry into a fuller life which engendered growth in the soul. He reasoned that God, in every respect better than any human father could be, would never inflict eternal punishment on mankind: "If a child were rebellious and wicked for ten minutes and a father tormented and thrashed, tortured and starved her for the rest of her life, his action would be merciful compared with that of a God, who for sins committed in one lifetime tormented a soul unendingly" ²³⁸.

Complementary to the eschatological debate was the post-1850 displacement of the Atonement by the Incarnation as the centrepiece of Anglican theology, and a general shift in emphasis by the 1880s in many divisions of the Victorian church from the wrath of God and fear of hell towards love, mercy and the Fatherhood of God ²³⁹, a strong theme of Weatherhead's work. In addition, struggle for salvation for some Evangelicals may have been eased by the 1870s' influence of the holiness

movement, which reduced striving for sanctification by placing emphasis on "the Rest of Faith" ²⁴⁰.

However, in spite of increasing liberalisation of thought throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, official Methodist literature into the 1880s maintained a conservative stance. In a Connexional article of 1878 the corruption of mankind was emphasised by, "Men die sinners". In addition, the concept of probation in an intermediate state was repudiated: "remember you have no right to tell any man that second probation is his or his neighbours'". Moreover, universalism was damned by the declaration that "the future state of rewards and punishment connote perpetuity...[and]...involve Retribution" ²⁴¹. Such reactionary thinking survived into the 1920s, being illustrated when Weatherhead was called to account for his work by a conservative element of the Connexion. *After Death* was condemned by a colleague in the Church on the grounds that it was at odds with John Wesley's interpretation of the Scriptures. Following this criticism Weatherhead was summoned to appear before a disciplinary committee of the Wesleyan Conference to face charges of heresy. He was, however, finally exonerated, the committee deciding that his rendering of the "Modern Christian View" did not go beyond the freedom of exegesis allowed to ministers. In addition, by the time judgement was pronounced, the book was enjoying comfortable sales, an indication that there were those within the membership and also in the wider society who were seeking reassurance and consolation from its pages ²⁴².

To what extent did changing religious beliefs throughout the nineteenth century reflect a general "crisis of faith" within the population at large, or affect attitudes towards the death of a family member? Writing of the Victorian period, G Kitson Clark contends that, for "...the ordinary not very intelligent, not very erudite, human

being...the intellectual issues raised...fade into the background and other equally important problems take their place" ²⁴³. But theological concern could exist at a popular level. Unsophisticated believers, though incapable of intellectual theological debate, were sensitive to their own helplessness in the face of the adversities which stalked daily life. Consequently, they could readily grasp the concept of an omnipotent God, who not only decreed punishment and reward on earth, but threatened the unrepentant with eternal damnation, while promising to the righteous a refuge from the miseries of this world in an eternity of bliss. In his autobiography of 1880 working-class "officer" Joseph Barker recalled his parents, who knew nothing of religious controversy, but had a simple creed, "that there was one God, one Christ, one hope, one religion, one heaven. To love God and all mankind, to shun evil and to do good...rejoicing in hopes of everlasting blessedness" ²⁴⁴. Other indications that the Victorian "crisis of faith" controversy did percolate down the ranks of ordinary believers in nineteenth century society at large to an unprecedented degree included an 1877 article by W H Mallock, who wrote of "Sunday luncheon tables" at which people were "avowing their disbelief in eternal punishment, and discussing their several theories of a future life" ²⁴⁵. The estimated quarter of a million adherents to spiritualism in the 1930s ²⁴⁶ suggests a continuing lively influence amongst the population at large in spiritual matters, albeit of an unorthodox kind.

Influence of External Events - (iii) Material Wealth.

During the nineteenth century, however, there was, for some in society, an increasing divergence, or even estrangement, between spirituality and secular life, which could result in a decreasing emphasis upon, or even a rejection of "other-worldly" considerations.

The causes of such a trend appear to have varied according to social class.

Amongst the poor, for whom the doctrine of hell could cause feelings of oppression and resentment, it was asserted that this teaching was "one of the most fruitful sources of disbelief" ²⁴⁷. Wheeler's contention that it was during the Industrial Revolution that, for the working class, "reality began to exceed the bounds of imagination, even in the most dramatic visual and poetic versions of hell" ²⁴⁸, was illustrated by Frederick Engels' difficulty in conveying "a true impression of the filth, ruin and uninhabitableness...of this Hell upon Earth" ²⁴⁹ - Manchester. For the more fortunate, whose worldly prosperity was growing ²⁵⁰, it was their increased wealth and materialism which was "deadening what once had been a strong metaphysical element of popular consciousness" ²⁵¹. Boyd Hilton contends that the abolition of hell may be viewed as a failure of middle-class nerve, since it made their futures more secure ²⁵².

By the end of the nineteenth century fears that the Connexional membership might be depleted as a result of its growing material wealth was plainly stated in Methodist writings. Pratt, describing Black Country Methodism in 1891, complained, "the wealthy cannot bequeath their experience with their carriage...often even in the next generation, the carriage rolls past the chapel on to the church"²⁵³.

Moreover, by the 1870s, the claims of material values had already begun to intrude upon official Methodist writings, an indication of the Connexion's pragmatic adaptation to the rise of material wealth within the movement. An article of 1878 declared that, although principles should not be sacrificed, in particular the mission to save souls, "a certain measure of godly and judicious elasticity" was recommended, one

implication being that material wealth should not be condemned in itself. For, "There may be a godly courtier as well as a godly cobbler"²⁵⁴. Secular concerns even appeared in the revered territory of the obituary, as illustrated by two of 1879: "The loss of money to his family weighed heavily upon him", and "...it pleased the Lord to furnish her and her beloved husband with private resources" ²⁵⁵.

Chapel ritual could also be affected by the rising wealth within the Connexion, for, as many bodies of chapel trustees "took on the airs of polite society, so they gravitated towards a religion of respectability" ²⁵⁶. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century such growing "respectability" demanded that the spontaneity and emotionalism of hell fire preaching, with its imagery of death, be replaced by formalism and restraint, a transition which could serve to erode the passive acceptance of bereavement among the membership. Increasing formalism was exhibited in some chapels by the presence of the Church of England service, exemplified by its use in (Wesleyan) Trinity Church, Wolverhampton, on Sunday morning from 1862 onwards ²⁵⁷. Such an event demonstrated that, by the beginning of the period covered by this research, a growing middle class, benefiting from the returns of urban industry and commerce, could dictate the format of chapel worship. Similarly, urban middle-class influence was demonstrated by "ministerial" subject Basil Willey who remembered that, during services at his Wesleyan chapel in the 1900s, "Respectability, rather than reverence, was what filled the air" ²⁵⁸. Such regimes form a stark contrast with the enthusiasm of the Wesleyan revivals which persisted in the isolated working-class fishing and mining communities of Cornwall up to the 1870s ²⁵⁹.

By the last decades of the nineteenth century middle-class influence on ritual was also evident among the Primitive Methodists, as

illustrated in 1879 by a complaint in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* concerning the number of churches "dying from the dry rot of formalism" ²⁶⁰. Some local writers looked back with nostalgia to the old days. Writing of John William Goodwin, a contemporary of his in the 1900s, Langham praised his "florid and rhetorical style", which is "probably more favoured by an earlier generation", preferring this mode of preaching, to the current "cold, icy formalism" ²⁶¹. But such comments were counter balanced by those such as (Wesleyan) minister Robert Newton Flew, who in 1918 criticised the narrowness of early Methodist preachers, who "had not seen the vision of God affirming the world as good, as delighting in the colour and gaiety and the many-sidedness of human life, ceaselessly operative as in Nature" ²⁶².

As the nature of the ritual changed, so the "ministerial" role evolved from one of evangelist to that of pastor ²⁶³. A Connexional article of 1878 proclaimed, "The Methodist Preacher to-day enjoys far more of the visible comforts of life than his earlier fathers". The same article, however, also expressed concern that respect could no longer be assured by virtue of office. Not only were traditional religious institutions being questioned, but the "moral, intellectual and social liberation" seen in the Methodist community threatened to undermine "ministerial" authority ²⁶⁴. The powerful hell fire preacher, who placed emphasis on the next life, was being increasingly replaced by the less authoritative and more worldly pastor who presided over a service (possibly in a newly built or renovated chapel) which embodied respectability and restraint. Thus as the imagery of death lost its centrality in the chapel, so the intrusion of bereavement into the daily lives of families may have given rise to a resentment which formerly might have been assuaged by the preacher's stern reminder of the greater importance of the life in next world over the vanities of earthly existence.

Conclusion

Throughout the period researched the passive acceptance of death by Methodists amongst all categories and social classes not only accorded with those sentiments inherent in both Connexional and "respectably" endorsed Victorian consolation literature, but also echoed the responses of certain of their peers in the non-Methodist world. Moreover, the way in which, into the twentieth century, Methodist personal accounts, especially those of the middle class, utilised the same emotive language as that found in Connexional consolation writing suggested they shared Officialdom's optimistic acceptance of death, perceiving it as the will of Divine Providence, a gateway to eternal life.

However, such outpourings need not have been motivated by religious belief. They could have merely been manifestations of established religious discourse, a public demonstration of Methodist stoicism, an expression of bourgeois concern to face the world with "respectable" and dignified equanimity in the event of bereavement, or even a mask for fears and doubt concerning death.

Moreover, diversity of attitude towards bereavement within the Methodist membership was manifested in the divergence from Connexional optimism in those examples of bitter grief openly expressed by subjects amongst all categories and social classes throughout the years covered by this study. Such divergence from traditional belief and practice must be viewed within the context of changing attitudes and events taking place in the wider society.

The ongoing eschatological debate of the nineteenth century, whereby the "common view" of heaven and hell gave way to a growing reassurance

of eternal life for all, illustrated how religious debate could undermine traditional belief. The reluctance to accept premature death at a time of increasing societal expectations of longevity, or during the unprecedented slaughter of young men during the First World War demonstrated the effects of physical circumstances and events on attitudes towards family bereavement. Moreover, although there was no evidence of spiritualism having any substantial following within the Connexional membership, the role of the War in stimulating interest in this movement, which promised the bereaved immediate reunion with their loved ones, demonstrated how physical events could affect religious belief.

Resentment against the doctrine of hell amongst the poor who suffered so much anguish in this world, or the adoption of a more world affirming attitude by those Methodists who enjoyed increasing material wealth (a trend pragmatically acknowledged and endorsed in Connexional writings) further illustrated how material circumstances could undermine traditional faith. The replacement of enthusiasm by "respectable" restraint within certain chapels, a phenomenon which forced considerations of the next life to the margins of consciousness, illustrated how middle-class influence could secularise even worship.

The impact of bereavement on material circumstances was affirmed by the experiences of those middle- and working-class Methodist widows who were obliged to rely upon their kin or the extended "family" of the chapel for economic support. In addition, although there was no evidence of Connexional widows suffering "social exile", the presence of wider societal mores was evident in the unlikelihood of their remarriage.

Methodists' adaptation to the rituals of death prevalent within their local surrounding non-Methodist communities further underlined the extent of wider societal influences, and also emphasised the heterogeneity of experience within the movement, many practices being informed by social class. However, although working-class subjects emulated their peers in the secular world in their commitment to provide funerals with as much pomp and ceremony as finances would allow, there was no evidence to suggest that middle-class Methodists followed the example of their social equals in the non-Methodist world in their tendency, from the last decades of the nineteenth century, to adopt simple funereal practices. Even after attributing the grandeur of Thomas Champness' funeral to his prominence within the Connexion, other evidence (albeit relating to a single family) also revealed middle-class interments which, though not of the same magnitude, were elaborate.

Finally, this chapter highlighted the significance of the rural/urban divide within the Methodist membership. The superstitious or folk element of belief and practice in rituals surrounding bereavement appeared especially strong within working-class communities living in isolated locations. Conversely, it was in urban areas that, from the middle decades of the nineteenth century, certain middle-class congregations led the way in relegating the imagery of death in their chapel ritual, a sharp contrast to those isolated rural chapels where punishment for the wicked and salvation for the righteous continued to form the major theme for religious services.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.56.
- ² Smith *op. cit.* p.197.
Although lack of evidence hinders a fully comprehensive analysis according to class, a study done by Dr William Guy based on London Mortality records in 1839 estimated the average life expectancy of the gentry at 58.6 years; and a later Brighton study by Edwin Chadwick in 1888 indicated an average age expectancy for "well to do" of 63, compared to one of 28.8 for the "not well to do". These findings are reflected in Appendix VII which illustrate Chadwick's 1844 figures on the proportion of deaths according to age and class.
Ibid. pp.316-20.
- ³ See Appendix V and Smith, *op. cit.* pp.65-135 for further details concerning infant mortality and diseases.
Although by 1907 the mortality rate in children aged one to five had fallen by 33 per cent overall in the previous 40 years, nevertheless, in the 1890s it was as high as in the 1860s.
Leonore Davidoff, "Working-class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England, 1895-1914", *Journal of Social History*, 2nd ser. XII (1978) (hereafter "Working"), p.248.
- ⁴ *Lancet*, 21 July 1877, p.101 in Smith, *op. cit.* p.70; E W Hope, *Report on the Physical Welfare of Mother and Children* (1917), I p.212 in Ellen Ross, "Labour and Love : Rediscovering London's Working-class Mothers, 1870-1918" in Lewis, ed. *op. cit.* 81.
See Appendix VI for further figures on the average infant mortality rates in London, 1901-3.
- ⁵ Roberts, *Place*, p.21.
- ⁶ James, *op. cit.* p.23.
- ⁷ "Biographical Sketches : Recent Deaths", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.164.
- ⁸ "Biographical Sketches : Recent Deaths", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XX (1874), p.761.
- ⁹ Meadley, *op. cit.* p.19
- ¹⁰ Carter, *op. cit.* p.5.
- ¹¹ Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹² Hesling, *op. cit.* p.29
- ¹³ Smith, *op. cit.* pp.85-113.
- ¹⁴ See Appendix XI.
- ¹⁵ Archibald Tait, Bishop of London, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1869.
Jalland, *op. cit.* p.129.
For further details of childhood illness see Smith, *op. cit.* pp.136-94.
- ¹⁶ Smith, *op. cit.* pp.148-52, 162-3.
Objections also arose because vaccinators were often unskilled, and the lymph contaminated.
- ¹⁷ For further details concerning typhus, typhoid, cholera and tuberculosis see *ibid.* pp.195-317.
- ¹⁸ The 1847-8 outbreak accounted for 50,000 deaths in London. Between 1890 and 1893 influenza killed 16,500 (mostly elderly) adults.
Ibid. p.324.

- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.288.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* pp.330-2.
- ²¹ For instance, bacon, most commonly eaten by the working class, was at its cheapest when it had turned yellow or was covered in black spots (anthrax). By the end of the 1870s 689 districts of England and Wales had by laws governing the sale and slaughter of meat, 205 did not.
Ibid. pp.204-7.
- ²² *Ibid.* pp.208-15
- ²³ *Ibid.* pp.87,139-40,146-7.
- ²⁴ Evidence is scant, but it is estimated that general practitioners charged between 5s and 10s 6d, and consultants £3 3s 0d or more per visit in the late 1850s.
Ibid. p.369.
- ²⁵ James Morrison claimed his pills would cure fevers, measles, smallpox, consumption, and lassitude and debility from old age. Until the 1870s they contained a strong mixture of aloes, cream of tartar, gum, gumbage and colocynth. Many became addicted to this concoction and died.
Ibid. p.343.
- ²⁶ As a general rule, operating theatres were not cleaned between operations, a thick cloth was laid on the tables to absorb blood. Bandages and sponges were "washed", but not boiled, before reuse. The state of these institutions was exacerbated by lack of adequate sewerage systems. Between 1862 and 1882 the trough closets in the Hull Infectious Diseases Hospital were "insufficiently flushed and their untapped soil pipes...were blocked", making wards and lobbies offensive.
Ibid. p.267.
- ²⁷ Due to anaesthesia, from 1847-57 operations in voluntary hospitals increased fourfold, while overall amputation death declined from 33 to 28 percent between 1837-41 and 1854-6.
Ibid. p.273.
- ²⁸ For instance, Dr G W Callendar at St Bartholemew's hospital described Lister's carbolic sprays and antiseptic methods as "extremely complicated, expensive, irksome, and laborious".
Ibid. pp.274-5.
- ²⁹ Though the impact of Nightingale nurses was disproportionate to their number, it must be remembered that, by the 1880s, only 20 graduates per year were leaving St Thomas' school. Particularly appalling was the standard of nursing in the workhouse, where the old and sick were often cared for by other inmates. In 1897 there were still only 130 places for trained nurses in 700 workhouses.
Ibid. pp. 260-1,388-9.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* pp.249-84.
- ³¹ St Bartholemew's in 1869 was a typical example of an out-patients department. It had a poorly ventilated waiting room which held up to 600 people. Two house doctors in attendance for about an hour saw over 120 patients each, leaving students to examine the rest at a rate of about 35 per hour. No proper patient records were kept.
Ibid. pp.256-9.
- ³² *Ibid.* p.197.
These figures, like those of Jalland and Thompson in the following two footnotes, are not class based.
- ³³ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.6
- ³⁴ Thompson, *Edwardians*, p.267.

- ³⁵ Smith, *op. cit.* p.239.
- ³⁶ This figures may not be solely attributable to vaccination since by 1898 only 61 percent of infants in England and Wales were vaccinated within the legal minimum of three months.
Ibid. pp.165.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* p.288.
- ³⁸ It is thought that cases of heart disease probably increased after 1855. Also, there was an increase in cancer deaths from 17.7 per 100,000 living in 1840 to 50.2 per 100,000 in 1880. But these figures may owe as much to better diagnosis as longevity.
Ibid. pp.325,327-30.
- ³⁹ Benson, *op. cit.* p.55.
See Chapter Three for further details of increasing material wealth within society.
- ⁴⁰ Early public health reform was carried through by local Acts of Parliament, emphasis being on improvement in water supplies and sewage disposal. In 1842 Edwin Chadwick produced the *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, which established an incontrovertible link between environment and disease.
The 1848 Public Health Act laid the foundation for a nationwide structure by establishing Local Boards of Health, but it was often impeded due to lack of funds and obstruction by local vested interests. However, further enabling legislation followed, culminating in an Act of 1872, enabling public bodies to borrow money easily from government, and prescribed both sanitary machinery, and appointment of minimum staff (most notably Medical Officers of Health).
Fraser, *op. cit.* pp.58-72,76; Best, *op. cit.* pp.57-8; Smith, *op. cit.* pp.198-200.
- ⁴¹ The 1875 Act established national minimum standards for water supply, sewage removal, regulation of streets and building, removal of nuisances, food inspection, notification and suppression of diseases, rules for burial, regulation of markets, lighting and offensive trades.
Smith, *op. cit.* p.199.
Eric Midwinter, *Victorian Social Reform* (2nd Edition 1970), pp.53-4.
- ⁴² Smith, *op. cit.* p.221.
- ⁴³ In 1899 health visitors went into 11,700 homes in Birmingham. 3000 homes needed further visits because of dirty conditions, some of which were "indescribable".
Roberts, *Place*, pp.131-5; Chinn, *op. cit.* p.124.
- ⁴⁴ Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.28.
- ⁴⁵ Entry for 11 Nov. 1927 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁶ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.213.
- ⁴⁷ Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Practice of Internment in Towns* (1843), p.45 quoted in *ibid.* p.213.
- ⁴⁸ Chinn, *op. cit.* p.40.
- ⁴⁹ Roberts, *Place*, pp.19-20.
- ⁵⁰ Brooks, *op. cit.* I pp.33-4
- ⁵¹ Lax, *op. cit.* p.29.
- ⁵² *Ibid.* pp.34-5
- ⁵³ Barker, *Bucks*, p.5.

- ⁵⁴ Roberts, *Place*, p.163.
- ⁵⁵ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour and the London Poor*, 3rd ser. I, (1861), p.249 quoted in Jones, "Working", p.473.
- ⁵⁶ Chinn, *op. cit.* pp.39-40.
- ⁵⁷ Mrs B2P in "Transcripts", *op. cit.* pp.7-10.
- ⁵⁸ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.69,72.
Since, in describing the customs of his village, Bullock often even made no distinction between Methodist and non-Methodist inhabitants, it is impossible to distinguish any differences between the different categories of working-class Methodist in respect of attitudes and practices concerning death and bereavement in Bowers Row.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.* pp.70-2.
- ⁶⁰ Clark, *op. cit.* pp.39-40.
- ⁶¹ Chadwick, *op. cit.* pp.50-1 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* pp.195-6.
- ⁶² Chadwick's report implicated overcrowded churchyards in the spread of disease. The 1850 Metropolitan Interments Act prohibited intramural interments, further interments in churchyards, and closed burial grounds, It also stipulated the Board of Health should provide for funerals in cemeteries at fixed charges. This legislation was extended to the rest of England and Wales in 1853. By the late Victorian period funeral reformers were advocating lightweight "perishable" coffins, rather than strong wood or lead lined containers which let in no air. In the 1870s the British Cremation Society was founded. After a legal case in 1884 in which cremation was declared not illegal crematoria were erected in various parts of the country including Woking (1885), and Manchester (1892). Jalland, *op. cit.* pp.195-206.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* p.195.
- ⁶⁴ Champness, *op. cit.* p.363.
- ⁶⁵ Entries for 1 May 1926; 2 Feb 1929 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ⁶⁶ Bennett, *Old*, p.87.
- ⁶⁷ Champness, *op. cit.* p.363.
- ⁶⁸ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.231.
- ⁶⁹ Fowler, *Farringtons*, p.213.
- ⁷⁰ For widows, "first mourning" consisted of black clothes covered with crape, and included a widow's cap and veil. No ornaments were worn. This was worn for a year and a day. "Second mourning" consisted of black clothes, but with less crape. Jet jewellery was allowed. This stage lasted a year. In the third stage of mourning grey and mauve were worn. Some widows stayed in these colours for the rest of their lives.
For men clothing was much less modified - changes consisting of the wearing of black mourning cloaks, gloves, hatbands and cravats.
Mourning period for a child or parent was 12 months, for a brother or sister six months.
Davidoff, *Best*, pp.55-6; Jalland, *op. cit.* p.310.
- ⁷¹ Mourning apparel was often sold at the same premises from which undertakers conducted their business. Besides these mourning "warehouses", drapers shops frequently had mourning departments. One of the earliest mourning emporiums was that of Gabriel Douce of the Strand, established in the mid-eighteenth century, which sold, "all sorts of silk stuff, Norwich crape, camletts, and all sorts of black silks for hoods". Later famous ones included the Argyll General Mourning and Mantle Warehouse in Regent Street. Also, women's magazines carried articles on mourning etiquette. However, Jalland

points out that the impact of the Funeral and Mourning Associations, established in the 1870s to eliminate excessive expence attached to mourning apparel, was detectable in the falling sales of expensive materials such as crape, the decline in demand for which had affected Courtauld's profits by the 1880s.

Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping 1800-1914* (1989), pp.63,67,52; Jalland, *op. cit.* p.304.

⁷² Bennett, *Old*, p.363.

⁷³ Davidoff, *Best*, p.56.

⁷⁴ Roberts also found that if men were widowed then it was likely that children would go to live with relatives, or a female relative would come to live in the home to look after them.
Roberts, *Place*, pp.172-3.

⁷⁵ Brooks, *op. cit.* I pp.13-4.

⁷⁶ Barker, *Bucks*, p.13.

⁷⁷ Entry for 7 May 1930 in Wright, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ Chapman, *op. cit.* p.36.

⁷⁹ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.231.

⁸⁰ See previous chapter for further details.

⁸¹ After the age of 30 the prospect of remarriage for widows was reduced. After 40 the chances were negligible. Annual marriage rate for widows in 1851: at 20 19.694 per 100; at 30 11.61 per 100; at 40 4.33 per 100; at 50 1.298 per 100. For widowers the figures were 30.766, 28.627, 14.075, 5.711 respectively. William Farr, *Vital Statistics* (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1855, 1975 edition), pp.79-80 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.253.

⁸² See Chapter Three.

⁸³ *Wesley Place*, p.7.

⁸⁴ Langham, *op. cit.* p.2.

⁸⁵ Rack, *Reasonable*, p.435.

⁸⁶ Clark, *op. cit.* p.129.

⁸⁷ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic : Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century England* (8th edition 1988), p.95.

⁸⁸ Hobsbawm, *op. cit.* p.133.

⁸⁹ "On the Doctrine of a Particular Providence", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VII (1849), p.28.

⁹⁰ Pratt, *op. cit.* p.111.

⁹¹ Comment by T Jackson on early death of H B Botterell who died aged 29 years in Rev. John Relph, "Memoir of the Rev. H B Botterell, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. IV (1848), p.716.

⁹² Letter from Cornelius Stovin to his wife 23 November 1872 in Stovin, ed. *op. cit.* p.117.

⁹³ "Memoirs of Mr & Mrs Howorth", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. VI (1860), p.218.

⁹⁴ Rev. Luke Tyerman, "Memoir of Mrs Elizabeth Bargate" *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XII (1866), pp.388-9.

- ⁹⁵ "Biographical Sketches", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XX (1874), p.761
- ⁹⁶ Rev. G A Page, "Practical Papers : Sainted Children", *Wesleyan Methodist Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. V (1870), p.74
- ⁹⁷ Parkinson, *op. cit.* p.70; Burnett, Rank, pp.173,220.
- ⁹⁸ Vincent, *op. cit.* p.59.
- ⁹⁹ Roberts, *Place*, p.20.
- ¹⁰⁰ Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.28.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.3.
- ¹⁰² Exemplified by Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850), written on the death of his friend, Arthur Hallam.
Jalland, *op. cit.* p.283.
- ¹⁰³ For example, in 1885, after her daughter's death, Emma Haden copied out Scripture and consoling verse (some of which was her own creation) in her "Book of Meditations on Bereavement".
Ibid. p.281.
- ¹⁰⁴ Looking at the wider society, Jalland cites examples which include the unpublished "Hagley Record" - documents describing several deaths of members of the Lyttelton family, most notably that of Mary Lyttelton in 1857, which chiefly dealt with her last three days. She describes the account of Mary Lyttelton's demise (which covered 46 folio pages, of which 32 dealt with the last three days, the whole account having 12 contributors who provided detail of food and drink consumed by the deceased, and also spiritual matters) as the "best example of the Victorian Evangelical ideal of a good death" found within the family archives used in her research. Narratives which were published for the edification of a wider readership include the 1879 publication of the deaths in 1856 of five daughters of the Bishop Tait of London.
Jalland, *op. cit.* pp.129,174,165,285.
- ¹⁰⁵ Wheeler, *op. cit.* pp.29,36.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* pp.5,68-9.
- ¹⁰⁷ Rack, *Reasonable*, p.429.
- ¹⁰⁸ "Last Words of Great Men", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. II (1879), p.347.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.68
- ¹¹⁰ This article described the first working model of television apparatus devised by Ernest Ruhmer, a young electrical engineer. Ruhmer had transmitted a number of geometric patterns from the Palace of Justice in Brussels to Liege - a distance of 72 miles.
Rev. Arthur Wood, "The Miracle of Television", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, IX (1910), pp.191-3.
- ¹¹¹ Such optimism appears to reinforce E P Thompson's contention about Methodists of an earlier era: "Death was the only goal which might be desired without guilt, the reward of peace after a life time of suffering and labour". It is embodied in numerous exhortations that life was but a prelude to a lasting glory - for instance, "This being is but momentary death, / Life's real sphere, our own eternity".
Thompson, *Making*, p.410; "The Christian's Triumph Over Death", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, I (1819), pp.191-2.

- ¹¹² For instance, examples of the happiness felt as the soul escaped from this "tenement of clay", include: "I am happy, perfectly happy...O what a place heaven is", and "Happy! Happy! Glory! Glory!" Obituary of Priscilla Potter, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, X (1829), p.60; John Booth, "Some Account of the Death of Mrs Walker : Late Mrs Clapham of Leeds", *Arminian Magazine* (1788), p.189; John Day, "Memoir of Miss Jane Muschamp", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 2nd ser. (1839), p.27.
- ¹¹³ "Biographical Sketch" of Margaret Featherstone, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XIV (1868), p.763.
- ¹¹⁴ Entry for 17 Aug 1872 in Stovin, ed. op. cit. p.92
- ¹¹⁵ "School Biography of Eliza Jane Blunt", *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. IX (1874), p.20.
- ¹¹⁶ Gregory, ed. op. cit. p.190.
- ¹¹⁷ Emily Bronte, *Wuthering Heights* (1847) quoted in Wheeler, op. cit. pp.33-4.
- ¹¹⁸ "Memoir of Henry Langden", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.240.
- ¹¹⁹ S Whitehead, "Our Friends Above : Miss Charlotte Stephenson", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1915), p.317.
- ¹²⁰ Entry for 17 June 1903 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, p.42.
- ¹²¹ Moss, op. cit. pp.246-7.
- ¹²² Obituary of Mary Carr, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.168; Joseph Sheale's Obituary of Mary Sheale, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VII (1869), p.365.
These words may have been inspired by John Wesley, who recorded in his journal 6 October 1785: "a lovely young woman, snatched away at eighteen; but she was ripe for the bridegroom".
Nehemiah Curnock, ed. *John Wesley's Journal* (abridged) (5th edition, 1967), p.395.
Such imagery has a Scriptural foundation, for example, Revelation 21:2 - "And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband".
- ¹²³ For example, "Victory! Victory!"
"Memoir of Mrs Martha Lessey", *Methodist Magazine*, XXXIX (1816), p.862.
- ¹²⁴ Rev. Hugh Jones, "'The Deaths of Saints Precious to God' : Substance of a sermon preached in the William Street Chapel, Woolwich, July 13th 1856, on the occasion of the death of Martha, wife of the Rev. James Smith", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.401.
The quotation is I Corinthians 16:55.
- ¹²⁵ For example :
John Robinson's *Connexional Biography of Joseph Peadon*, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VII (1869), p.103.
- ¹²⁶ For Example :
Obituaries of Mary Drake and Robert Brown, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. XIV (1868), pp.671-2.
- ¹²⁷ "Poem to Colliers", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 2nd ser. XI (1839), p.12.
- ¹²⁸ Bullock, op. cit. p.68.
The oft quoted Jim Bullock has proved a valuable source of information for this chapter.
- ¹²⁹ John Relph, "Memoir of the Rev. Henry B Botterell", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. IV (1848), p.716.

- ¹³⁰ Alexander Thompson's Obituary of Mrs Hannah Day, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VII (1869), p.368.
- ¹³¹ Rev. Stephen Forrest, "George P Turner", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* CXXIII (1900), p.475.
- ¹³² "With the Invisible Choir : Mrs Anne Scott", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1925), p.70.
- ¹³³ Samuel Bamford, *The Autobiography of Samuel Bamford, Volume One : Early Days together with an Account of the Arrest, etc*, (1849), p.287.
- ¹³⁴ Entry for 7 Mar 1887 in McKenny, *op. cit.* p.90.
- ¹³⁵ Entry for 17 June 1903 in Thompson, ed. *Diaries*, *op. cit.* p.42.
- ¹³⁶ Parkinson, *op. cit.* p.70.
- ¹³⁷ Entry for 10 Nov 1927 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹³⁸ James Allen, "Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Marsh", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. IV (1848), p.712.
- ¹³⁹ Joseph Sheale's Obituary of Mary Sheale, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VII (1869), p.365.
- ¹⁴⁰ Murray Wilson's Connexional Biography of Mrs Murray Wilson, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 4th ser. VII (1869), p.175.
- ¹⁴¹ Fowler, *Farringtons*, p.210.
- ¹⁴² Entry for 7 Mar 1887 in McKenny, *op. cit.* p.90
- ¹⁴³ Bullock, *op. cit.* pp.68-9.
- ¹⁴⁴ E H Bickersteth, "Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever : A Poem in Twelve Books" (1873), lines 1206-7 quoted in Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.39.
- ¹⁴⁵ Charlotte Bronte, *Jane Eyre* (1847) quoted in Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.41.
- ¹⁴⁶ For example:
Obituary of the Rev. John Livingston, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. III (1857), p.279.
- ¹⁴⁷ Rev. J L Ball, "Mrs Lancaster Ball", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* CXXIII (1900), p.236.
- ¹⁴⁸ "With the Choir Invisible : Miss Florence A Hunter", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1925), p.295.
- ¹⁴⁹ Entry for 7 Oct 1917 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵⁰ G Wallis, "Biographical Sketches : George Timbury", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* 3rd ser. VIII (1850), p.13.
- ¹⁵¹ Rev. Joseph Bailey, "Memoir of Mrs Baldwin, of Stourport", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. IX (1885), p.250.
- ¹⁵² Rev. J B Norton, "In Memoriam : The Rev. John Hutchinson Norton", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXXIII (1900), p.75.
- ¹⁵³ J W Middlemass, "Our Friends Above : Mr W Petch", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIX (1920), p.70.
- ¹⁵⁴ Bullock, *op. cit.* p.69.
- ¹⁵⁵ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* pp.103-4.

- ¹⁵⁶ Cock, *op. cit.* p.3.
- ¹⁵⁷ E P Stigant, "Methodism and the Working Class, 1760-1821 : A Study in Social and Political Conflict" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Keele, 1968), p.121.
- ¹⁵⁸ For instance, Bullock, writing at a later date, recalled that last words were faithfully recorded at the beginning of the twentieth century in Bowers Row; Thomas Champness' final utterance, "My King, My King", was recorded in 1907. Bullock, *op. cit.* p.69; Champness, *op. cit.* p.363.
- ¹⁵⁹ A rare example being those of Mr J Toyn: "I love the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ more to-day than ever"
"With the Choir Invisible : Mr J Toyn", *Primitive Methodist Magazine* (1925), p.67.
- ¹⁶⁰ Jalland, *op. cit.* pp.6,53.
On the other hand, her contention that there were, from the 1880s onwards, more deathbed scenes relating physical suffering, with no spiritual consolation, was unsubstantiated by this research. Though physical ailments might be mentioned, in neither official Methodist nor personal accounts were found instances where the reader was given prolonged or explicit details of the bodily sufferings of the dying. Moreover, official obituaries always contained an element of spiritual comfort.
- ¹⁶¹ Vincent, *op. cit.* pp.40-1.
- ¹⁶² C Thomson, *Autobiography of an Artisan* (1847), p.186.
- ¹⁶³ Bamford, *op. cit.* p.64.
- ¹⁶⁴ Hawkstone Hall, "Sketches of Methodist Life and Character : The Superannuated Preacher", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. II (1895), p.597.
- ¹⁶⁵ Russell, *op. cit.* pp.218-9.
- ¹⁶⁶ Macdonald, *op. cit.* p.339.
- ¹⁶⁷ Carter, *op. cit.* p.41
- ¹⁶⁸ Fowler, *Life*, pp.682-6.
- ¹⁶⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.* p.177.
- ¹⁷⁰ For instance, in the 1860s May Gladstone's father died three years after her mother. In the 1870s the broken hearted husband of Evelyne Lady Stanhope died two years after her.
Jalland, *op. cit.* p.160.
- ¹⁷¹ Research done by Michael Parks in the 1960s revealed a mortality rate amongst widowers over the age of 54 during the first six months of bereavement which was 40% higher than that expected for married men of the same age group. C M Parks, *Bereavement : Studies of Grief in Adult Life* (Harmondsworth, 1978, pp.29-31, 227-8 quoted in *ibid.* p.160.
- ¹⁷² Jalland's examples include:
(i) Queen Victoria, for whom the death of her husband, Prince Albert, according to Mary Ponsonby, "left her in utter desolation". Her mourning lasted for 20 years.
Mary Ponsonby, *A Memoir* (1927), p.47 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.319.
(ii) Lady Frederick Cavendish, whose husband was assassinated in 1882. In 1913 she wrote to Edith Lyttelton:
"I know the weight of sorrow grows harder to bear as the days go on, and what comes first to sustain one seems to fall away, and one realises more and more what loneliness is".
Letter from Lucy Cavendish to Edith Lyttelton, 16 July 1913, Chandos Papers, 11 3/12 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.336.

- 173 Entry for 28 April 1914 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- 174 Barker, *Bucks*, p.13.
- 175 Macdonald, *op. cit.* p.339.
- 176 Entry for 28 April 1926 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- 177 For instance, on his baby son's death in 1866 W H Smith used the biblical phrase, "and so he is taken from the sorrow to come". However, the mother of Margot Tennant never recovered from the deaths of her first three children in the 1850s. Margot remembered, "She had suffered too much over [their] deaths.. Sorrow had sapped her vitality"
Jalland, *op. cit.* pp.123,121.
- 178 Roberts, *Place*, p.165.
- 179 Pember Reeves, *op. cit.* p.91.
- 180 Vincent, *op. cit.* p.59.
- 181 Clark, *op. cit.* pp.117-8.
- 182 See footnote 5 for reference to Roberts' example of a burial of unbaptised babies. Clark found another instance of urgency in baptising babies in the village of Gosforth in W M Williams' *The Sociology of an English Village : Gosforth* (1958).
The liminal qualities of unbaptised infants are by no means the product of the folk realm. Keith Thomas' work, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1988) links the belief with certain opinion within the Medieval Church.
Clark, *op. cit.* pp.116-8.
- 183 Mrs M3P in "Transcripts", *op. cit.* p.4.
- 184 Entry for 18 May 1922 in Wright, *op. cit.*
Evidence that Ethel was able to resume her sporting social activities lay in entries for 12 June 1922; 13 June 1922; 14 June 1922; 15 June 1922; 17 June 1922.
- 185 Letter quoted in Macdonald, *op. cit.* p.59.
- 186 Raymont, *op. cit.* p.2.
- 187 Meadley, *op. cit.* p.19.
- 188 Carter, *op. cit.* p.5.
- 189 Entry for 17 May 1922 in Wright, *op. cit.*
- 190 Jalland, *op. cit.* p.381.
- 191 722,785 British servicemen were killed out of a total of six million, many of whom had no known last resting place.
The extent to which an individual chapel might suffer loss was illustrated in Sykes' research which revealed that the Mount Zion United Methodist Chapel, Dudley, lost 12 young men from its membership.
J M Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (1987), pp.71-2,92,99,281 quoted in *ibid.* p.373; Sykes, thesis, p.300.
- 192 Jackson, *op. cit.* pp.162-3.
- 193 Jalland, *op. cit.* p.373.
- 194 Winter, *op. cit.* p.305 quoted in *ibid.* p.373.
In his last letter to his stepmother, written in 1916 from Ypres, Raymond Asquith reported, "bodies and bits of bodies....and a stink of death and corruption which was supernaturally beastly".

- Mark Bonham Carter, ed. *The Autobiography of Margot Asquith* (Bath, 1972), p.315 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.374.
- ¹⁹⁵ Turner, "Methodism", p.357.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁷ W L Watkinson, "The Church's Duty in the Present War", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CXXXVII (1915), p.20.
- ¹⁹⁸ W J Claxton, "Chats About Patriotism", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1917), p.151.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Our Friends Above : Captain the Rev. S J Sullings", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (1917), p.223.
- ²⁰⁰ Lidgett, *op. cit.* pp.270,106.
- ²⁰¹ D M Caple, "Private Foster's Mother", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, XXXVII (1915), p.775.
- ²⁰² Jalland, *op. cit.* p.365.
- ²⁰³ Taylor, *op. cit.* p.77.
- ²⁰⁴ The aims of the society were "to examine without prejudice or prepossession and in a scientific spirit those faculties of man, real or supposed, which appear to be inexplicable".
Rene Haynes, *The Society for Psychical Research 1882-1982 : A History* (1982), p.xiii quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.366.
- ²⁰⁵ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.366.
- ²⁰⁶ H A Smith, "The Facts and Hypotheses of Spiritualism" *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, CVIII (1895), pp.842,845.
- ²⁰⁷ Instances cited of condemnation of necromancy were Deuteronomy 18:10,11 and Leviticus 20:27.
Ibid. p.843.
- ²⁰⁸ Mrs William Johnson, "From a Woman's Point of View : What About Spiritualism?", *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, new ser. XIX (1920), p.547.
- ²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.546.
- ²¹⁰ Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914-1935* (1968), pp.27-8 quoted in Turner "Methodism", pp.357-8.
- ²¹¹ For membership evidence Jalland uses:
Stephen Koss, *Nonconformity in British Politics* (1975) quoted in John Stephenson, *British Society 1914-1945* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p.357 cited in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.370.
Oral evidence included that of Rev. Cyril Hudson, in whose opinion the War had caused "increasing indifference to religion in general".
Rev. C E Hudson, "A Current Tendency in Popular Religion", *Nineteenth Century*, p.84 (Nov 1918), pp.800-1 quoted on Jalland, *op. cit.* p.370.
- ²¹² James Obelkevich, "Religion" In F M L Thompson ed, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.iii,349 quoted in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.371.
- ²¹³ G K Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (1969), pp.155-64; David Cannadine, "War and death, Grief and Mourning" in Joachim Whaley, ed. *Mirrors of Mortality* (1981), pp.228-9; Ruth Brandon, *The Spiritualists : The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1983), pp.215-7. All of these works are cited in Jalland, *op. cit.* p.371.
- ²¹⁴ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.128.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp.128-9.

In his 70s he began to receive messages from the dead through the "automatic" writing of Miss Geraldine Cummings.

Ibid. pp.190-1.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.76.

²¹⁷ These are the characteristics assigned to early evangelicalism by Bebbington.

Bebbington, *op. cit.* p.3.

²¹⁸ This doctrine was based on a number of scattered biblical texts, for example, Isaiah 33:14; Daniel 12:2; Matthew 25:46.

The term "common view" was coined by F W Farrar.

Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.15.

²¹⁹ John Wesley, "Doctrine of Original Sin" in *Works of John Wesley : Volume XI* (1856 edition) (hereafter *WJW*), XI, p.232.

²⁰² For, "'Through the offence of one', all are dead...dwelling in a corruptible, mortal body...under the sentence of eternal death".

John Wesley, Sermon LVII.ii.p.6, in Beecham, ed. *Sermons* (1864), II, p.209; J

Wesley, Sermon V.i.p.7, in E H Sugden, ed. *Wesley's Standard Sermons*, I, p.118.

Both works are quoted in Davies, "People", p.153.

²²¹ Wesley, *WJW*, p.389.

²²² John Fletcher, *An Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense or, A Rational Demonstration of Man's Corruption and Lost Estate* (1841) (hereafter *Appeal*), p.44.

²²³ Thomas Chalmers, *Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (1837-42), II, 96-7 quoted in Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement : The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford, 1988), p.291.

²²⁴ According to Tamke, this "sacrificial imagery of blood" was often intimately portrayed in gory detail in hymns(the "manual of [Methodist] spiritual discipline"). This is illustrated in the hymn quoted in the obituary of Elias Howarth in the *Primitive Methodist Magazine*: "For ever my rest shall be / Close to thy bleeding side". This imagery was also conveyed by Wesley's words, "a sure trust that Christ died for my sins, that he loved me and gave himself for me".

Tamke, *op. cit.* p.24; Obituary of Elias Howarth, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 3rd ser. VII (1849), p.189; John Wesley, Sermon V.iv.2 in Sugden *op. cit.* I, p.125 quoted in Davies *op. cit.* p.163.

²²⁵ Letter from John Wesley to John Valton 31 January 1764 quoted in John Telford, ed. *Wesley's Veterans : Volume VI* (1913) (hereafter *VI*), pp.8-9.

Fletcher emphasised "how easy, and yet dangerous it is, to take the reformation of our manners for the regeneration of our souls". Moreover, an anonymous writer contended that, the man who regards himself as a "good liver" is merely a "varnished hypocrite".

John Fletcher, "The New Birth : A Discourse" in *Works of John Fletcher*, VIII (1877 edition) (hereafter *JFW*), p.305; *Confession of a Deist* (anon.) (1796), p.24.

²²⁶ W E H Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, II (1883), p.582.

²²⁷ Such "Sabbath orgasms", were, according to Thompson, a way of channelling potentially socially threatening energies and (particularly sexual) emotions of the congregation into less threatening forms. Hysteria could be propagated by early zealous preachers such as Thomas Walsh who delivered sermons seldom less than an hour in length, after which he was in "a bath of sweat". Also, Joseph Benson "warned, remonstrated, entreated, and wept", so that "vast congregations quailed and melted under the spell".

Thompson, *Making*, pp.405-6; John Telford, ed. *Wesley's Veterans : Volume V* (1913) (hereafter V), p.82; T P Bunting, *The Life of Jabez Bunting, DD* (1887), p.30.

²²⁸ For instance, "There saints, newborn, lascivious orgies hold". The contortions of the "saved" were often depicted in lurid detail, for instance, "...her eyes were turned into her head,....Her mouth was far advanced towards one of her ears, [she lay] for some time in one of the most indecent postures I ever saw".

The Love-Feast. A Poem (1778), p.28; *A Plain and Easy Road* (1762) both works quoted in A M Lyles, *Methodism Mocked : The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century* (1960), pp.90,106.

²²⁹ John Wesley, himself, came to regard physical manifestations as the work of the devil, designed "both to discredit the work of God and to affright people from hearing that word whereby their souls might be saved". Joseph Barker maintained that the "base make the greatest and loudest professions", and condemned "the disorders and indecencies" of the Sheffield revivalist meetings of the 1830s.

Many other commentators have interpreted this wild emotionalism in an unwholesome light. For example, S G Dimond concluded from his survey of the period 1739-43 that manifestations of physical agony occurred "largely among the more primitive and less civilized types", such as those living at Kingswood. In his study of 234 cases for the period 1739-43 he found 85 instances where individuals "dropped as dead", two cases of persons affected with psychogenic blindness, 14 cases of madness and restoration, and nine cases of incurable madness.

S G Dimond, *The Psychology of Methodism* (1932) pp.81-2; Barker, *Life*, pp.48,187; Telford, ed. VI, pp.200,113; Telford, ed. V, p.243; Bebbington, *op. cit.* p.7.

²³⁰ Common phraseology and themes indicate a possibility that some testimonies may have been influenced by earlier writings (such as those by John Wesley), and so simply reflect conformity to what had become established religious discourse. In fact, many of the eighteenth century accounts were written at the request of Wesley, who could then exert his usual editorial control. For instance, John Valton began to write an account of his life at the request of John Wesley in 1782. This account was first published in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1784. See also Telford, ed. VI.

²³¹ Description of revivalist meeting in the North East during the 1820s. Robert Colls, *The Pitmen of the Northern Coalfield : Work, Culture and Protest, 1790-1850* (Manchester, 1987), p.148.

²³² For instance, Thomas May, who, on hearing a sermon on judgement, was afflicted by "terrors of hell...Every word was an arrow piercing my soul". Conversion could result in a joyous longing for death, but it might also invoke conviction of sin and repentance. Lingering inner agonies of guilt figured prominently in many eighteenth and (particularly early) nineteenth century autobiographies and obituaries.

Even in the following Justification, or pardon, obtained by God's grace, the accompanying assurance of salvation was that only of present salvation, not the Calvinist assurance of "final perseverance" of the elect. The battle for salvation continued with sanctification, the steady conquest of inward sin, a contest which might be, according to Wesley, lost due to man's "heart bent to backsliding...a proneness to depart from God". "Entire sanctification", or "Christian Perfection", was achievable by the majority only immediately prior to death.

L Hinge, "Experience of Thomas May", *Arminian Magazine*, XXI (1798), p.18; John Wesley, Sermon CVI.i.1-12 in Beecham, *op. cit.* III, pp.187-90 quoted in Davies, "People", pp.162-3; John Wesley, Sermon XLVI.iii.7 in Sugden *op cit* II, p.368f quoted in Davies, "People", p.169.

For further details refer to: Rack, *Reasonable*, chapters 5 and 7; Davies, "People", pp.153-69.

²³³ "What then is eternal death, but to be without God".

F D Maurice, *Theological Essays* (1853), p.437 quoted in Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.81.

- ²³⁴ F W Farrar, *Eternal Hope : Five sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey, November and December, 1877* (1904), pp.xxii, xxxiii-xxxv quoted in Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.73.
- There were various interpretations of this Intermediate State. In the mid-eighteenth century David Hartley (inspiration of early Unitarian thought) advocated a condition of neither trial nor purification, but rather a mode of existence where the soul was either insensible or passive, in the latter the good experiencing more pleasure than pain, and the wicked the reverse.
- 1860s correspondence between Tractarians J H Newman and E B Pusey reflected a move away from the Roman, or basically penal concept of purgatory, towards the less retributive Patristic, or purificatory, notion - though Pusey feared denial of hell "would open a floodgate of immorality".
- Rowell, *op. cit.* pp.36,105; Letter from E B Pusey to W K Hamilton 9 February 1864 quoted in *ibid.* p.120;
- ²³⁵ T R Birks, *The Victory of Divine Goodness* (1867) cited in Rowell, *op. cit.* pp.124-6.
- ²³⁶ David Hartley, *Observations on Man* (1749) quoted in Rowell, *op. cit.* p.35.
- ²³⁷ Andrew Jukes, *The Restitution of All Things* (1867) cited in Rowell, *op. cit.* p.130.
- Others, such as the Congregationalist Edward White, espoused a conditionalist doctrine, whereby the wicked were annihilated after death. The sinner experiences two deaths, the first when the soul is separated from the body, and the second when the very materials of existence and consciousness are reduced to nothing. Those influenced by Darwinism's "survival of the fittest" believed the latter was coincidental with the former, others, adhering to the biblical language of the "second death" and the value of retributive punishment as an ethical sanction, believed annihilation took place after the wicked had received just punishment.
- For further details see Rowell, *op. cit.* pp.180-207.
- ²³⁸ Weatherhead, *op. cit.* p.76.
- ²³⁹ Gerald Parsons, "Social control to Social Gospel : Victorian Christian Social Attitudes" in Gerald Parsons ed. *Religion in Victorian Britain : Volume II - Controversies* (Manchester, 1988) (hereafter "Social"), p.59.
- For further discussion of the displacement of the Atonement by the Incarnation see Hilton, *op. cit.* chapter 8 and pp.4-6, 288-97.
- ²⁰⁴ Effort, conflict and endeavour were rejected as the path to sanctification. For more details of the holiness movement see Bebbington, *op. cit.* pp.151-76.
- ²⁴¹ "Evangelization After Death", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. II (1878), pp.861, 867, 873.
- ²⁴² In 1926 an anonymous churchgoer gave the author two hundred pounds to purchase 800 copies to be presented to the membership.
- Weatherhead, *op. cit.* pp.76-7.
- ²⁴³ G K Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (3rd Edition 1965), p.147.
- ²⁴⁴ Barker, *Life*, p.14.
- ²⁴⁵ *Contemporary Review*, XXIX (January 1877), 169 quoted in Gilbert, *op. cit.* p.177.
- ²⁴⁶ Jalland, *op. cit.* p.371.
- ²⁴⁷ Letter to F W Farrar 4 February 1878 quoted in Rowell, *op. cit.* p.147.
- ²⁴⁸ Wheeler, *op. cit.* p.198.
- ²⁴⁹ Engels, *op. cit.* p.86.
- ²⁵⁰ See Chapter Three for further discussion of the rising material wealth within certain sectors of the Methodist movement.

- ²⁵¹ Gilbert, *op. cit.* p.186.
- ²⁵² Hilton, *op. cit.* p.276.
- ²⁵³ Pratt, *op. cit.* p.61.
Similarly, John Freeman, writing of the Bilston Wesleyans in 1924, feared for the fate of Swan Bank chapel, a place having no endowments, which was suffering because, as its members prospered, they moved to "other pleasanter places".
Freeman, *op. cit.* p.79.
- ²⁵⁴ W H Dallinger, "On Some of our Temptations and Dangers as Ministers", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. II (1878), pp.179,183.
- ²⁵⁵ "Connexional Biographies" of William Fox and Jane E Flesher, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. II (1879), pp.52,117.
- ²⁵⁶ Leese, thesis, p.133.
The decline in emotionalism was witnessed by controversy concerning the class meeting during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
- ²⁵⁷ Pratt, *op. cit.* p.115.
- ²⁵⁸ Willey, *op. cit.* p.47.
- ²⁵⁹ As late as 1871 a Connexional minister in Penzance wrote of his "fear" of Cornish revivals, and was puzzled by the outbreak of religious excitement to which "to the people at hand..is all natural and welcome".
D Luker, "Revivalism in Theory and Practice : The Case of Cornish Methodism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXXVII (1986), p.605.
- ²⁶⁰ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 5th ser. II (1879), p.527.
- ²⁶¹ Langham, *op. cit.* p.40.
Although many continued to extol its virtues as "a powerful engine for spreading Christian holiness", there was a move to dilute the experience element by alternating it with a more general devotional Bible Class.
Review of S W Christophers' work, *Class-Meetings in Relation to the Design and Success of Methodism*, *Wesleyan Sunday-School Magazine*, new ser. VIII (1873), pp.262-3; Rack, "Wesleyan", pp.159-60.
- ²⁶² Wakefield, *op. cit.* p.44.
- ²⁶³ The beginnings of changes in the nature of the ministry may be detected in the introduction of formal training, which was instituted for the Wesleyans as early as 1818. In 1868 the first specialized college for Primitive Methodist ministers was founded. The Wesleyan Conference of 1848 stipulated that the "obvious benefits" of itinerancy and village preaching should not interfere with pastoral duties.
Gilbert, *op. cit.* p.150-1; G E Milburn, "Tensions in Primitive Methodism in the Eighteen-Seventies", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XXXX (1976), p.95.
- ²⁶⁴ W H Dallinger, "On Some of our Temptations and Dangers as Ministers", *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 6th ser. II (1878), pp.179,183.
By the twentieth century in Primitive Methodism, which had always been and more anti-sacerdotal than Wesleyans, local (lay) preachers were allowed to administer the sacraments. In relation to lay preachers the ordained minister was merely regarded as "first among equals".
Turner, "Methodism", p. 331.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The Aims of this Research

The major purpose of this research has been to determine whether Methodist families exhibited characteristics which demarcated them from the rest of society during the period c.1850-1932. For this aim to be achieved, it was necessary to assess the extent to which Methodism itself presented a unified set of beliefs and practices which cut across barriers of class, gender and place, the Methodist subjects being sub-divided into "ministerial", "officer" and "rank-and-file" categories. Such a complex examination demanded that issues affecting the lives of Methodist families be set within a broader socio-cultural context and that consideration be given to the varied insights and perspectives afforded by a growing number of social historians ¹.

The data gathered were employed in two principal ways:

(i) The beliefs and customs manifest in Methodist personal accounts were assessed in the light of those values and practices relating to domesticity apparent amongst the subjects' peers in the non-Methodist world, a comparison involving both secular "respectability" and, wherever relevant, a wider societal context. This exercise not only revealed the extent to which the expectations of an outside society influenced Methodist families, but also highlighted the scale of heterogeneity evident within the membership's domestic practices. Additionally, the comparison between Connexional and "respectable" opinion enabled the evaluation of the degree to which secular influence

had permeated Methodist Officialdom. Although not a major theme in this thesis, the comparison between Methodists and their non-Methodist peers facilitated the assessment of the possible significance of geographical location in terms of a rural/urban divide alongside the chief variables of social class, gender and the category of Methodist subject studied.

(ii) The Connexion's promulgations on the family, as expressed by mainly Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist periodicals published during the period researched, were compared with evidence of home life as portrayed in Methodist auto/biographies. In this way assessment could be made of the degree to which the behaviour and values of Methodist families within the various categories were determined by their level of commitment to the official Methodist ethos, as opposed to wider social class and gender expectations.

The Main Claims of this Thesis

In general terms this study has significantly increased historians' knowledge of Methodist families. A number of specific findings have emerged from the research which can claim to constitute an original contribution to historians' understanding of Connexional domestic life. Although variations were revealed between Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist attitudes at an official level in connection to educational policy and the issue of temperance ², this research found no substantial evidence of differences amongst the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist membership.

The findings of this study can be usefully grouped under two broad conclusions:

Firstly, the evidence for the integration of Methodist families with wider society far outweighed that which suggested any degree of distinctiveness. Such findings demonstrated their heterogeneity by revealing the extent to which social class, gender, and, to a more limited extent, location (in terms of a rural/urban divide), overtook the Methodist ethos in determining behaviour within Connexional homes.

Secondly, there was a more limited persistence of practices which appeared to separate a minority of Methodist families from the non-Methodist world.

(i) Integration.

The main finding of this research was the absence of any apparent substantial degree of commonly recurring behavioural or attitudinal characteristics which would have defined Methodist families as a sustainable and historically significant homogeneous grouping during these years. On the contrary, with a few exceptions within certain areas of family life (mainly drawn from "ministerial" and "officer" accounts), as the Connexion metamorphosed from a volatile "associational" sect to a more settled denomination, so the "inner-worldly asceticism"³ of earlier Methodists appeared to be overwhelmed by the influence of a secular culture whose mores were informed increasingly by the bourgeois notion of "respectability". Such worldly influences, which fostered the heterogeneity of Methodist families, manifested themselves in the domestic life of subjects within all categories and social classes, and were already detectable before the

beginning of the period studied. In addition, although regional variations appeared insignificant, certain aspects of Connexional family life were influenced by location in terms of a rural/urban divide.

The secularisation of Methodist families of all categories and social classes revealed itself in two major respects:

(a) Identification with and Adaptation to the Culture of their Surrounding Secular Community.

This phenomenon, whereby Methodists shared the experiences of the secular world, completely undermined any notions of homogeneity in respect of Connexional family life, and was apparent within all categories and social classes of subjects throughout the whole period covered by this research. However the degree of heterogeneity demonstrated by Methodists was subject to variation. For instance, although Methodists' integration with the secular world was apparent in their attitudes towards the discussion of pregnancy, childbirth, and sexual issues, obedience in children, and gambling, nevertheless, in such matters they generally endorsed the opinions of the "respectable" elements of society at large. Similarly, Connexional families within all categories across the social spectrum tended to adopt a "respectable" eagerness to avail themselves of the increasing educational opportunities on offer in the secular world from the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Such traits were not surprising considering the strong representation of the "respectable" working class within the Connexional membership⁴.

Moreover, the permeation of Connexional writings by bourgeois opinion demonstrated how "respectability" had also invaded Methodism at an official level. Officialdom often gave a biblical rationale to its admonitions on issues, such as the disciplining of children, the authority of the Victorian Paterfamilias, filial duty, gambling, temperance, Sabbath Observance, courtship and spousal roles ⁵. However, throughout the period of this research, Officialdom's views tended to be compatible, if not synonymous, with those of secular social commentators anxious to promote the necessary seemly behaviour essential to uphold the proper values of the "moral" status quo in society at large. As "respectability" invaded the Connexion, so the bipartite division of the universe into the sacred and profane was undermined ⁶.

However, at a personal level, in certain aspects of family life, the heterogeneity of Methodist practice exceeded the bounds of "respectability". In their ability, or otherwise, to avail themselves of learning opportunities the Connexional membership manifested as diverse a range of experience as that encountered in the secular world, educational prospects being largely governed by the social and financial demands of the family. Also significant was the rural/urban dichotomy, as living in an isolated location could, for Methodist and non-Methodist alike, adversely affect educational opportunities ⁷.

Similarly, Methodist families of all categories and social classes shared a broad spectrum of attitudes and behaviour respecting spousal roles and parental practices ⁸ with families in the non-Methodist world. The adoption of local beliefs, customs and rituals relating to birth and death by Methodists highlighted the importance of social class, as opposed to religious affiliation, in determining the wide

diversity of the Connexional family experience. This phenomenon also demonstrated the significance of the rural/urban divide, certain isolated rural working-class communities appearing to retain a greater element of traditional folklore and superstition regarding birth and death than their counterparts within urban areas ⁹.

Such a dichotomy proved significant in another manifestation of Methodist integration into secular society, namely, the changes which took place in chapel ritual. From the 1860s certain urban congregations abandoned hell fire preaching in favour of "respectably" restrained worship, a trend which contrasted with the persistence of enthusiasm in some of the more isolated working-class rural locations. Moreover, this trend was an expression of the growing influence of the material at the expense of the spiritual, a sign of a more world-affirming attitude amongst the upwardly socially mobile element of the Connexional membership ¹⁰.

From the commencement of the period covered by this study the Methodist membership, like those within the secular world, enjoyed increasing material wealth, a phenomenon possibly the result of a so-called "work ethic" inherent in both the Connexion and the wider society. Generous financial donations to the Connexion by its membership, the increasing splendour of Methodist nuptial celebrations, and the significance of finances in some middle-class members' matrimonial matches all attest to this phenomenon ¹¹. The Connexion's pragmatic adaptation to the improving material circumstances of certain sectors within its membership was exemplified by its post-1870 increased provision of middle-class schooling, and the encroachment, by the latter decades of the nineteenth century, of material wealth into its writings, even to the extent of invading the sacred territory of the obituary ¹².

(b) Incompatibility, or Conflict between the Attitudes of the Connexion and its Membership.

Divergence of opinions between the Connexion and its membership, further demonstrated the heterogeneity of the latter, as, throughout the years of this research, Methodists of all categories and social classes disregarded official promulgations in favour of following secular trends. The Connexional and "respectable" condemnation of lengthy courtships (a phenomenon common within the wider society, "respectable" or otherwise) was often ignored by Methodists of all categories and social classes ¹³. In spite of Connexional exhortations to produce large families, support for family limitation was found amongst middle-class and "aspiring" working-class Methodists, the former being found even within the "ministerial" and "officer" categories, their views echoing those of their peers in the secular world ¹⁴.

Contrary to Officialdom's admonitions, during the years covered by this study, evidence gathered from amongst accounts relating to mainly middle-class families (who were more able to afford books) revealed that secular influence was to be found in the choice of reading matter found in Methodist homes, even those belonging to "ministerial" and "officer" families. Indeed, considering the range of literature found in the Gregory household, it is questionable to what extent even those who acted as mouthpiece for Officialdom obeyed their own strictures ¹⁵.

Throughout the period of this research (though examples were relatively few) Methodists within all categories and social classes demonstrated in a diversity of ways the inability or unwillingness to live up to Connexional expectations of parenting. Moreover, the

mention of cruel beatings, delegation of childcare to servants, and the "ex-baby syndrome" ¹⁶ amongst middle-class "ministerial" and "officer" families demonstrated that neither religious affiliation, nor material wealth were insuperable barriers to the cruel treatment and neglect of children.

There was substantial evidence indicating conflict between the attitudes of the Connexion and its membership on the issue of temperance, as, throughout the whole period covered by this research, subjects amongst all categories and social classes, in the face of Connexional and "respectable" admonitions, manifested a variety of attitudes, ranging from a tolerance of the consumption of alcohol by others, to the partaking of it themselves ¹⁷.

Even the next world provided a platform for dissent. During the years of this thesis the overtly expressed grief, which was expressed by significant numbers of Methodist subjects within all categories and social classes in the face of family bereavement, defied Connexional optimism ¹⁸. In addition, although lack of evidence prohibited assessment of the level of support spiritualism enjoyed amongst the Methodist membership, it was perceived by the Connexion to be influential enough to provoke its condemnation, and even managed to find support in one amongst its leading ministers ¹⁹.

The issue of gender expectations proved an area where traditional and Connexional expectations were attacked by the Methodist membership whose heterogeneous views echoed those of the secular world. From the beginning of the period of this study, disapproval and rejection of women's traditional role as carers of elderly and infirm family members, features characteristic of certain secular middle-class auto/biographies, were evident within accounts of all

categories of middle-class subjects. Such rebellious behaviour by Methodist women could result in a "dislocation" or fragmentation of responsibility. Moreover the foundation of a Methodist home for the elderly in the 1930s suggested that this "dislocation" was more widespread by the first decades of the twentieth century ²⁰.

Perhaps the most marked example of such "dislocation" within the Methodist family was the creation of a "plurality of power centres" caused by the emergence of independently-minded wives who, though in the minority amongst the subjects studied in this research, demonstrated a sufficiently significant presence to confirm that Connexional marriages, by manifesting companionate as well as patriarchal regimes, were as diverse as those in the secular world. Throughout the period of this research such women, from all categories and social classes contravened the Connexional and "respectable" stereotype of the "helpmeet" wife. They exercised authority not only within the family, but also in the chapel and the wider society, some of the more assertive of the latter taking advantage of the increasing opportunities for political empowerment offered to women in the secular world during the latter decades of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries ²¹.

(ii) Persistence.

Despite the general integration of Methodist families with the non-Methodist world ("respectable", or within a wider context), throughout the period researched a minority of subject families manifested characteristics which appear to have differentiated them from society at large. There were few occasions where significant divergence occurred between the three types of subject, but when

differences did arise they tended to separate, on the one hand, the "ministerial" and "officer" categories, from, on the other hand, the "rank-and-file". It was mainly within the subjects of the former two categories that the Evangelical perception of the family as the foundation of religious faith persisted ²². Evidence was drawn from the accounts of both the middle- and working-class subjects. However, in regard to "persistence", the categorisation of the subjects involved appears to be of greater significance than their social class.

Throughout the period of this research, it was mainly the "ministerial" and "officer" personal accounts, belonging chiefly to middle-class subjects, which devoted most attention to, and manifested most confidence in, the next world. Although some subjects within these categories displayed unassuageable grief at the loss of a loved one, it was within their writings that the optimistic anticipation of eternal life inherent in Connexional consolation writing could mainly be found ²³.

Although it was scant, evidence of the survival of family prayer within certain working- and middle-class "officer" households into the twentieth century (long after the practice had ceased to be fashionable in the wider society) attested to the lasting importance of religious ritual within such Methodist homes ²⁴.

The dedication of their young offspring to God's service (apparent within both working- and middle-class accounts ²⁵), and the attendance of their children at Connexional schools (the proliferation of examples amongst middle-class families being likely due to their greater ability to afford education ²⁶), would have helped certain "ministerial" and "officer" parents of the latter

half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to segregate their families from the influences of the wider world. Similarly, the confinement of children's recreational activities within the realm of the family, evident in some middle-class "officer" and "ministerial" accounts, suggested attempts at protecting their offspring from the potentially corrupting influences of society at large ²⁷.

In addition, cohesion between members of the Connexion was fostered by the support systems described by mainly "ministerial" and "officer" personal accounts of the working and middle classes, which relate to the whole period of this study. The young, impoverished widows, the elderly, or the infirm were nurtured either by their kin or by the wider "chapel family" ²⁸, sometimes care being supplied by those dedicated Christians who disregarded their own material disadvantages in their devoted adherence to Connexional promulgations on "good works" ²⁹.

Such beliefs and practices, which persisted throughout the period of this research, suggest the continuation of spiritual and social traditions within some Methodist households and chapel communities in the face of increasing materialism in society at large. Although in the minority according to the evidence studied, such Methodist families manifested traits which appeared to give them a distinguishable identity.

However, the argument for distinctiveness needs to be qualified since many of the customs and values which apparently distinguished such Connexional households from secular society were not unique to the Methodist people. For instance, consolation literature was a feature of Victorian society generally. Moreover, rather than being

inspired by religious conviction, such writings could have been motivated at least in part by a need to display Methodist stoicism, by a bourgeois concern to present a "respectably" serene composure to the world through the usage of established religious discourse, or even by fear and doubt ³⁰.

In other areas of family life, the case for Methodist distinctiveness can be questioned. For example, family prayers were a regular feature in the households of many other denominational traditions during the nineteenth century apart from Methodism ³¹. Moreover, during the years covered by this research, denominational schooling and care support systems both had their counterparts within the wider community ³². Even the limiting of childhood recreational activities to within family or chapel circles need not have been the result of mindful religious segregation. Separation from outsiders could, possibly, have been motivated by a middle-class aversion to mixing with social inferiors. Indeed, the evidence illustrated how the isolation of offspring could be ended by a family moving to an urban location with suitable social contacts ³³.

Similarly, marriage between members of the "chapel family" may not have been a symbol of conscious segregation. It is true that Langham attributed the intermarriage among the early Tunstall Primitive Methodists to a desire to "build a city of saints" ³⁴, and that Connexional literature into the twentieth century emphasised the importance of religious compatibility between spouses ³⁵. However, the decision by so many subjects of all categories and social classes to choose a spouse from the Connexion during the years of this study was likely to have been occasioned by the chapel's role as a social meeting place for young people ³⁶, a practice mirrored within other denominations. Moreover, marriage between kin was not

unique to Methodism, being prevalent in certain isolated working-class communities ³⁷. The significance of the rural/urban divide was further apparent in areas where young Methodists took advantage of opportunities within certain urban areas to widen their choice of partners ³⁸.

Finally, even within the families of those Methodists who conducted their lives as praiseworthy examples of practical Christianity, differences in attitudes between the generations sometimes resulted in their offspring failing to follow in their footsteps as loyal members of the Connexion ³⁹.

Methodology

Although the employment of Methodist auto/biographies in research is not unique, their utilisation as a main tool in investigating family life marks a departure from their more common usage as accounts of the spiritual careers of their subjects. Moreover, the innovative categorisation of subjects of these Methodist accounts into "ministerial", "officer" and "rank-and-file", facilitated this study's quest to discover complexities of Methodist family life hitherto hidden by previous studies of Methodist communities, such as those of Moore and Clark ⁴⁰.

Indeed, this categorisation proves valuable in offering a fresh perspective on the role of religion in family life in three major ways. Firstly, such a differentiation enables the examination of domestic values and behaviour of those families whose home life continually and most fervently adhered to the official/denominational expectations. Secondly, and conversely, it

throws light upon the ways in which subjects, even those from "ministerial" and "officer" families, who might be expected to show most allegiance to Connexional principles, defied those traditions endorsed by Officialdom. Thirdly, and most importantly for this research, by highlighting the wide spectrum of religious piety amongst subjects, this model brings into focus the shared experiences of the membership in its reaction to the developments in family life which were taking place beyond their immediate religious community.

As anticipated in Chapter One, some of the auto/biographical sources employed in this research proved problematic. Several of these writings (throughout all social classes and categories of subjects) shared the same shortcoming, namely, they made only limited references to domestic life ⁴¹. Other sources were hampered by their lack of orderliness ⁴².

The presence of more than one account of the life of an individual or family could, by the "reconstruction of prior theory and the re-evaluation of prior fact" ⁴³, stimulate the qualitative analysis of certain personalities, the (sometimes) contrasting signatures of the various biographers giving additional insights into characters ⁴⁴. On the other hand, the presence of multiple accounts did not necessarily widen the scope of data available to the researcher ⁴⁵.

Oral transcripts, though revealing a useful insight into family life, also manifested deficiencies. Besides the inability of the researcher to observe the "language of gesture", and any possible upsetting of the "weight and balance" of the interviews due to editing, shortcomings could manifest themselves due to questions not being specifically focussed towards the aims of this research ⁴⁶.

The dearth of personal accounts relating directly to women also hampered the research. The fact that women formed only a quarter of the subjects of individuals' "unofficial" auto/biographies did render them to some extent, "ahistorical" ⁴⁷, such a relatively small sample impeding, to a certain degree, the construction of generalisations.

Nevertheless, the number of works directly relating to females compared favourably with other research done on auto/biographies ⁴⁸. Indeed, the utilisation of personal accounts, whether relating to men or women, proved an exceedingly viable method of expanding and deepening perceptions of Methodist family life. Certainly, both the quality and quantity of evidence yielded by these auto/biographies more than compensated for any shortcomings.

The forcefulness of certain of the Methodist women investigated in this study counterbalanced the paucity of accounts directly relating to their lives ⁴⁹. Even if they were unable to directly disclose their motivations and experiences to the researcher the strength of spirit of such women was sufficient to allow their personalities to shine through the writings of others ⁵⁰.

Certain studies, founded upon spiritual or moral "shared themes", proved more relevant to this research than anticipated at the outset⁵¹, whereas other auto/biographies, stressing socially-based "shared themes", proved invaluable in highlighting the heterogeneity of Methodist families in their adoption of the beliefs and customs of their various local secular communities ⁵².

In fact, some Methodist personal accounts were particularly characterised by an illuminating frankness and depth of detail about domestic life ⁵³. With few exceptions, it was, however, in those accounts which had not been intended for publication that most frankness was to be found ⁵⁴. But, published or otherwise, the employment of such writings proved invaluable in promoting an understanding of the nature and extent of the influence of religious belief within individual Methodist households. In addition, this genre provided essential insights into the larger "family" of the chapel community.

This study has illuminated the nature and extent of the secularisation of Connexional attitudes towards family life during the period c.1850-1932. As such it could serve as a direct comparison for any future research into the official promulgations of other denominations concerning family values and behaviour. Similarly, where auto/biographical evidence is available, such comparisons could occur on a personal level, as this study's innovative categorisation of subjects may be applied to future research done on family developments within other religious traditions whose members lend themselves to a similar ranking ⁵⁵.

However, since the application of this categorisation is not confined to any particular time span, a future study most pertinent to this research would be one which focuses upon Methodist families of the late eighteenth, or early nineteenth centuries. Such an investigation might chart the movement's metamorphosis from sect to denomination. The dynamics of this transition could then serve as a comparison for any further research carried out on families belonging to other religious traditions which underwent similar transformations. Most importantly, however, such an investigation,

directed at the half century or so before that covered by this thesis, might be better able to capture those elements which distinguished Methodist families from those of the secular society at a time before the values of "respectability" had begun to challenge the religious bases of chapel life, and before the business of this life had overtaken concerns about the next.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ See pp.25-7.
- ² See pp.157,178-9.
- ³ See pp.33-4.
- ⁴ See pp.58-9,208-12,97-106,174-7,32,38,159,197.
- ⁵ See pp.74,109,174-7,177-87,84-5,219,248-53.
- ⁶ See pp.22.
- ⁷ See pp.147-66.
- ⁸ See pp.240-62,65-89,97-108.
- ⁹ See pp.59-60,297-299.
- ¹⁰ See pp.334-6.
- ¹¹ See pp.160,238-40,263.
- ¹² See pp.158,334.
- ¹³ See pp.220-1.
- ¹⁴ See pp.60-3.
- ¹⁵ See pp.144-6.
- ¹⁶ See pp.101,67,69.
- ¹⁷ Though few in number, even examples of drunkenness occur amongst Methodist accounts, namely, the fathers of James Flanagan (who was a Roman Catholic) and Raymond Preston. See p.81,184-5.
- ¹⁸ See pp.187-9.
- ¹⁹ See pp.326-8.
- ²⁰ See pp.111-3,117.
- ²¹ See pp.240-62.
- ²² See p.78.
- ²³ See pp.300-14.
- ²⁴ See p.84.
- ²⁵ See pp.60.
- ²⁶ See pp.158.
- ²⁷ See pp.172-3.
- ²⁸ See pp.71-3,302-3,109-17.
- ²⁹ See p.80.
- ³⁰ See pp.307-8,315-6.
- ³¹ See p.81.

³² See pp.73,111,114,116-7.

³³ Although the Reverend Macdonald's itinerancy isolated his offspring during their childhood, he sent eldest son to a non-Connexional boarding school. In addition, he manifested no opposition when an urban location with suitable social contacts offered his growing daughters the opportunity to sample the recreational delights of the secular society. See pp.154,174.

³⁴ Langham, *op. cit.* p.93.

³⁵ See pp.235-6.

³⁶ See p.234.

³⁷ See p.235.

³⁸ For example, the "monkey racks" of Preston and Bolton. See p.225.

³⁹ See pp.308-14.

⁴⁰ See Moore, *op. cit.*; Clark, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ The memoirs of Richard Cook proved little more than a description of his family tree which delved back into the eighteenth century. In other instances, lives of individuals such as George Edwards, Arthur Henderson, James Flanagan, and Margaret McCarthy, tended to concentrate on their public careers to the exclusion of domestic detail. The very nature of group biographies, such as that of the Bainbridges, which dealt with several branches of the family through many generations, precluded any substantial amount of detail being given about individual households.

⁴² The work of Joseph Barlow Brooks, though not lacking in bulk (it extended to two volumes), consisted of a rather disjointed collection of separate tales. Moreover, its liberal employment of the Lancashire dialect(perhaps an attempt by the working-class author to impress upon the reader his "ordinariness") rendered it incomprehensible in places.

⁴³ See p.9.

⁴⁴ Such as Louisa Baldwin and the Reverend James Macdonald.

⁴⁵ Eliza Champness and Thomas Meadley both produced subjective spiritual biographies of Thomas Champness, stressing the personal motivation and inner strength of their subject, which, while offering the reader "product and proof of [his] greatness", largely neglected details of his domestic and family life. See p.10.

⁴⁶ When investigating the extent to which temperance was practised within the Methodist home, it would have been useful to be able to ascertain by further interrogation whether or not the home-made "wine" consumed by the grandfather of one particular subject of Elizabeth Roberts did, in fact, contain alcohol. See p.188.

⁴⁷ See p.10.

⁴⁸ See footnote 137 in Chapter One.

⁴⁹ For example, Hannah Mitchell's outstanding autobiography was a valuable example of how, besides gender and social class, the rural/urban divide could prove relevant to personal experience, her lack of formal education being partly occasioned by the isolation of her home. See p.151.

⁵⁰ In particular, Ethel Wright's metamorphosis from self-deprecating fiancée to assertive spouse became manifest to the reader through her husband's diaries. For instance see pp.257-8.

⁵¹ The biography of Joseph Ashby provided a valuable insight into Methodist family life in rural Warwickshire.
See p.8.

⁵² Jim Bullock's autobiography proved extremely useful in this respect.

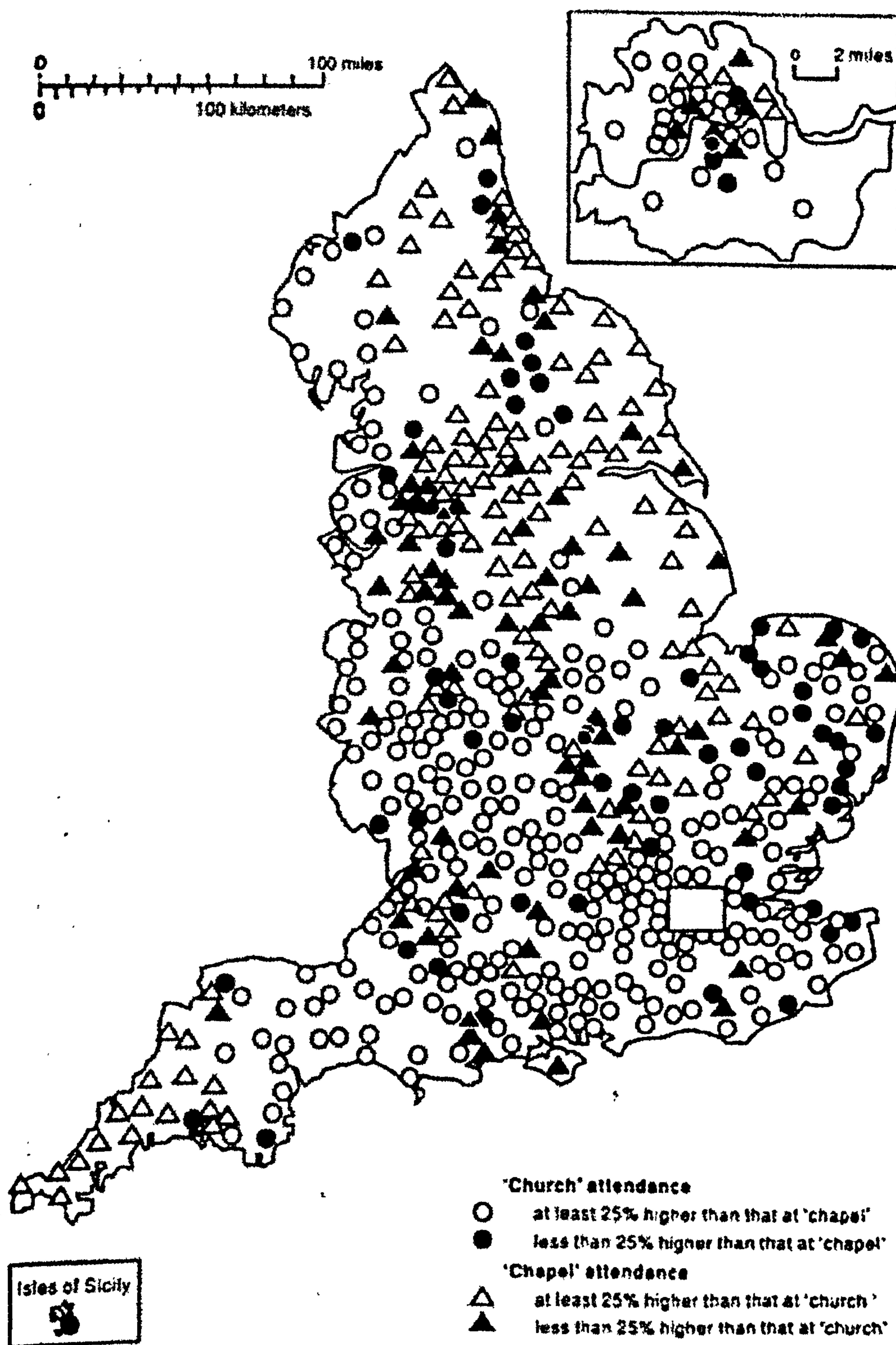
⁵³ Hannah Mitchell's autobiography gave a rewarding insight into her views on certain taboo topics, such as family limitation. Frankness was also manifest in the life of Leslie Weatherhead. However, such openness might be expected in the story of a man who wrote a book on sex education, and whose eschatological views offended the more conservative element of the Connexion.
See pp.64,212,331.

⁵⁴ Helen McKenny, Hannah Macdonald, Ruth Slate and Thomas Wright felt free to confide to their diaries opinions which might not have accorded with those of either the Connexion, or "respectability". Moreover, authors of such accounts sometimes gave intriguing insights into the lives of other family members, the most notable example being Ethel, wife of Thomas Wright.

⁵⁵ This classification could also be employed as a more general template. It need not be confined to assessments of family life, or even to research carried out in relation to other spiritual groups. In fact, this model might prove a useful tool for any studies done on any aspect of the experience of members of any organisation, religious or secular, which contains full-time paid and part-time unpaid leaders or administrators, as well those who merely attend meetings or partake in activities organised on their behalf.

APPENDIX 1

Religious Census 1851 : Church and Chapel Attendance



Taken from Hugh McLeod,

Religion and Society in England 1850-1914 (1986), p 29.

APPENDIX II

Total Methodist Membership as a Percentage of the English Population aged 15 Years and Over, 1851-1911

1851	4.4
1861	4.1
1871	4.1
1881	4.0
1891	3.8
1901	3.5
1911	3.3

Taken from Kenneth Thomson, "Religion, Class and Control" in Robert Bocock & Kenneth Thompson, eds. *Religion and Ideology* (1985), p.134.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

Listing of "unofficial" (personal) and "official" Methodist subjects employed in this research. The former are derived from published and unpublished auto/biographies, transcripts of oral evidence, and an unpublished diary. The latter are taken from Connexional magazines published within the period c.1850-1932.

Key:

d – died.
D – Denomination.
DOB – Date of birth.
LP – Lay preacher.
M - "Ministerial" category.
m.yyyy – date of Connexional magazine from which data obtained.
MC – Middle-class. For the purposes of this research this stratum of society is broad enough to include those who are engaged in clerical work and small tradesmen to proprietors of large business enterprises. Second generation ministerial subjects will be considered to be middle-class, but first generation ministers, who come from working-class families will be designated therein if their early life is especially relevant to this research.
MNC – Methodist New Connexion.
O – "Officer" category.
PM – Primitive Methodist.
POB – Place of birth.
RC – Roman Catholic.
RF – "Rank-and-file" category.
UFM – United Free Methodist.
UM – United Methodist.
W – Wesleyan.
WC – Working-class.

Note on social class:

If the social class of a subject changes during his/her lifetime, his/her status most relevant to the period covered by this research is employed for the purposes of analysis. In the majority of such cases the "predominant" social class is indicated in the "Comments" section.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB, POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
<u>Subjects of Personal or Unofficial Auto/Biographies :</u>			
Askham, Will 1900s, Co Durham.	PM	Son of a quarry worker.	WC/RF. Subject a railway worker.
Arch, Joseph 1826, Barford, Warwks	PM	Family of farm labourers	WC to MC/O.LP. Instrumental in the formation of trade union for agricultural workers. Although upwardly socially mobile, will be considered as working-class for the purposes of this research, since earlier life is most relevant.
Ashby, Joseph 1859, Tysoe, Warwks	W	Illegitimate son of a landowner; mother a domestic servant.	WC to MC/O. LP. Upwardly socially mobile. Began work for a builder, then as a surveyor. Later owned own small portion of land.
Ashworth, John 1813, Cutgate, nr. Rochdale	UFM		WC/O. Subject a master painter by trade; became prominent member of Connexion.
Bainbridges Newcastle-upon-Tyne	W	Owners of department store	MC/O (some family members held chapel office). Family biography beginning in the 1840s.
Bamford, Samuel 1788, Middleton near Manchester	W	Parents hand-loom weavers	WC/ RF. Subject worked as weaver, warehouseman, farm labourer, sailor, journalist.
Barker, Greta 1909, Wolverton, Bucks.	PM	Daughter of clothier. Family plunged into poverty on death of father.	MC to WC/O. Subject LP. Downwardly socially mobile family. WC most relevant to this research.
Barker, Joseph 1806, Bramley, West Riding.	W	Father clothier, who went of business.	WC/O. Subject LP. But later expelled from the Connexion.
Bax, Ernest Belfort 1854, Brighton	?	MC background. Subject a barrister.	MC/RF.
Birkett, Norman 1883, Ulverston, Furness	W	Father owned drapery business and LP.	MC/O. Subject studied for ministry before going up to Cambridge. Called to Bar.
Boot, Jesse 1850, Nottingham	W	Father agricultural worker turned herbalist; also class Leader and LP.	WC to MC/O. Subject a self-made businessman.
Brooks, Joseph Barlow 1874, Unsworth, Lancs	MNC	Father weaver.	WC/M. Subject worked in mill, then as pupil teacher before entering ministry.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Bullock, Jim 1903, Bowers Row, Yorks	PM	Father a miner and Sunday -School teacher.	WC to MC/O. Subject a miner who rose to be National President of the British Association of Colliery Management. WC most relevant to this research.
Carter, Thomas 1878, Stoney Middleton, Derbys	W	Father a shoemaker. Brother a Sunday School Supervisor.	WC/O. Subject a shoemaker.
Champness, Thomas 1832, Stockport, Lancs.	W	Father had worked as block-printer in silk trade.	WC to MC/M. Subject a missionary. Later founded a publishing house.
Cock, Douglas 1915, Bideford, Devon.	W	Family building business Mother a teacher. Grandfather active in chapel.	MC/O. Subject reporter for the <i>Methodist Recorder</i> .
Collier, Samuel Francis 1855, Runcorn, Cheshire	W	Father grocer.	MC/M. Subject founder of Men's Home at the Manchester Mission.
Cook, Richard 1832, South Ferriby, Lincs.	W?	Father worked in a chalk pit.	WC to MC/RF. Subject worked on farm As a boy. Later kept boarding house, library, newsagents.
Cooper, Thomas 1805, Leicester.	W		WC to MC/O. Wesleyan convert. LP for a time. Left Methodism. Worked as shoemaker, schoolteacher, journalist, political activist.
Edwards, George 1850, Marsham, Norfolk.	PM	Father a farm worker.	WC to MC/O. Subject started work as a farm worker, rose to be MP. WC relevant to research. Subject superintendent of Sunday School, society steward, and circuit steward.
Elliott, William George 1893, Plymouth.	?	Father a Royal Marine.	WC/RF. Subject a Royal Marine, later worked in Civil Service.
Flanagan, James 1851, Mansfield	PM	Father a failed clay pipe maker.	WC/M. Subject a PM convert who entered ministry.
Flew, Robert Newton 1889, Holsworthy, Devon.	W	Father minister.	MC/M. Subject a minister.
Fowler, Henry Hartley 1830, Bishop's Wearmouth, Sunderland	W	Father minister.	MC/M. Subject a solicitor, later MP. Rose to be a Cabinet Minister.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Gleaves family St Helens, Lancs.	W		MC/M. Ministerial dynasty.
Gould, Ronald Early 20 th century, Midsomer Norton, Somerset.	W	Father from mining family, but subject's parents owned a small shop.	WC to MC/RF. Subject rose to be General Secretary of NUT.
Gregory Benjamin 1820, Stokesley, N Yorks	W	Father and grandfather ministers.	MC/M. Subject a minister and editor of Connexional magazines.
Hartley, William 1846, Colne, Lancs.	PM	Grandfather schoolmaster, parents owned grocery shop. Father LP.	MC/O. Subject a notable benefactor of PM, also President of Conference 1909.
Hawker, Beatrice 1910, Street, Gloucs	W?	Father an orphaned workhouse boy. Often unemployed. Treasurer and steward of Chapel.	WC/O.
Henderson, Arthur 1863, Glasgow	W	Father cotton spinner and/or labourer.	WC to MC/O. Subject a Wesleyan convert. LP. Rose to be a Cabinet Minister.
Hesling, Bernard 1900s, Bramfield Yorks	W	Father had skilled job in woollen mill before ill health forced him to leave; then opened shop, made and sold own liquid soap. But business failed.	WC to MC to WC/RF.
Holden, Sir Isaac 1807, Nenthead, Cumbria.	W	Father a lead miner and tenant farmer.	WC to MC/O. Subject rose to be a mill owner and MP. LP and benefactor to Connexion.
Hughes, Hugh Price 1847, Camarthen.	W	Father a doctor, prominent holder of public offices.	MC/M. Subject a prominent churchmen.
Jackson, Thomas 1850, Belper	PM		WC/M. PM convert. Began as a carpenter, before ordination.
Lax, William H 1868, Hindley, near Wigan.	W	Father an iron moulder.	WC/M. Subject a minister.
Lewis, Elizabeth Ann 1848, Market Drayton	PM	Father LP	MC/O. Subject a temperance worker.
Lidgett, John Scott 1854, Lewisham.	W	Father businessman in City. Grandfather President of Conference.	MC/M. Subject minister. Founder of Bermondsey Settlement.
Lunn, Sir Henry 1859, Horncastle, Lincs.	W	Father LP and prominent lay churchman.	MC/M. Subject minister and leading Methodist.

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List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Macdonalds	W	Father minister, son also.	MC/M. Biographies deal with family history from mid 19 th cent.
McCarthy, Margaret 1900s,Oswaldtwistle	?	Father (RC) cotton spinner, mother weaver	WC/RF. Mother Methodist who 1900s, reared children Methodist after her husband's premature death.
McKenny, Helen G 1858,?	W	Father Superintendent of City Road Circuit in The 1880s.	MC/M. Limited time span - volume is diary of years 1885-8.
Mitchell, Hannah 1871, Peak District, Derbys.	W	Poor farming family. (Webster)	WC/RF. Subject active in suffrage movement and local politics.
Morel/Gibbs family	W	Mainly shipping.	MC/O. Family history for period mid 19 th century to early decades of 20 th century.
Parkinson, George 1828, New Lambton, Durham	W	Mining family.	WC to MC/O. Subject rose from, miner to be organiser of the Miners' Permanent Relief Fund, arbitrator at industrial disputes, and later entered business.
Peake, Arthur Samuel 1865, Leek, Staffs	PM	Father a minister.	MC/M. Subject minister and innovator in ministerial training.
Perkins, E Benson 1881, Leicester	W	Father merchant tailor and prominent churchman.	MC/M. Subject minister.
* Perks, Sir Robert William 1849,Brentford, Middlx.	W	Father a minister.	MC/O. Subject solicitor, railway director and MP. First layman to be admitted to Wesleyan Conference.
Perrins, Wesley 1905, Lye	PM	Father master nailmaker.	WC to MC/O. Subject began as nailmaker, became trades union worker, local politician, MP. Sunday School Superintendent.
Preston, Raymond 1861,Yeadon, Wharfedale Valley, W Yorks	W	Father's occupation not clear. Family poverty-stricken.	WC/M. Subject a lay evangelist.
Rank, Joseph 1854, Hull	W	Father flour mill owner	MC/O. Subject entered family business, expanded it and diversified into film industry.
Raymont, Thomas 1864, Tavistock, Devon	UM	Father a farrier. Two brothers ministers.	WC to MC/M. Subject a teacher, rose to become Warden of Goldsmiths' College.

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List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Rhodes, Margaret	?		MC/RF. Limited time span - article deals with reminiscences of Augusts spent at grandmother's Derbyshire home during second decade 20 th cent.
Richardson, Robert C 1907, Hethersett, Norfolk.	?	Father had smallholding. Mother and uncle LPs.	MC/O. Subject a farmer.
Rigg, James Harrison 1821, Newcastle-on- Tyne.	W	Grandfather yeoman and builder. Father minister.	MC/M. Subject a minister.
Slate, Ruth 1884, Walthamstow?	?	Father a clerk.	MC/RF. Volume is record of Ruth's diaries 1897-1909, and letters 1903-16. Subject involved in issues concerning progressive socialist and religious groups.
Stamp, Joseph Josiah Charles, 1880, Kilburn, London	W	Father shopkeeper.	MC/RF. Subject rose through Civil Service as leading tax expert. Later became chair of railway company. Converted to Wesleyanism by wife.
Stovin, Cornelius 1830, Binbrook,, Lincs.	UFM		MC/O. Subject a tenant farmer and LP. Volume published diaries, 1871-5.
Taylor, Bernard 1895, Mansfield Woodhouse	W	Father agricultural worker.	WC to MC/RF. Subject rose from miner to be parliamentary minister and gain peerage.
Thomson, Christopher 1799, Kingston-upon-Hull	?	Father a shipwright and carpenter.	WC/RF. Subject only on margins of Connexion. Not regular attender, but keenly interested in Methodism. Most relevant to this research in his capacity of WC biographer.
Thompson, Peter 1847, Fylde, Lancs	W	Father farmer.	MC/M. Subject a minister.
Tyrrell, S J 1889, Eydon, Northants	W	Family owned village shop.	MC/RF.
Vickers, William Ferrar 1882, Chapeltown - between Leeds and Harrogate.	W	Father an oil merchant.	MC/O. Subject a businessman. LP for a period.
Waddys	W	Multi-generational family of ministers.	MC/M.

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List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Warfield, D A Beginning 20 th century, Paulton ,near Bristol.	W	Father a draper and prominent in local government.	MC/RF. Volume concerned mainly with village life.
Waugh, Thomas 1853, Quarry Bank, nr Brampton, Cumberland	W	Father manager of flour mill.	MC/M. Subject a convert to Wesleyanism, and became minister.
Weatherhead, Leslie 1893, Harlesdon, NW London.	W	Father Managing Director of firm.	MC/M. Subject minister.
West, Jack 1910, Dagenham	W	Father builder.	MC/RF. Subject owned several business ventures, eventually became undertaker.
Whitlock, Ralph 1914, Pitton, nr Salisbury	?	Farming family.	MC/RF.
Willetts, Cliff 1899, Cradley.	?	No parental details given.	WC/O. Subject chainmaker, later a local politician. LP.
* Willey, Basil 1897, Willesdon, London	W	Father eventually became Chair of Metropolitan Cable Co – founded by 2 of father's uncles. Grandfather a minister.	MC/M. Subject an academic.
Wright, Thomas 1888, Horwich, Lancs	W	Father office worker.	MC/O. Subject a draughtsman, local politician and trades union representative. LP and Sunday School teacher. Unpublished diaries 1907-1932.

* Perks and Willey are two instances where the Methodist categorisation of subjects may appear somewhat arbitrary. Although Perks was the son of a minister, he has been designated "officer", rather than "ministerial", because of his own prominent role as a Methodist. In the case of Willey, although there is no evidence to indicate that, as an adult, he retained any involvement with Methodism, he has been classified as a "ministerial" subject. This has been done because this study has concentrated upon his childhood - a time when many aspects of Willey's family life were influenced by his paternal grandmother, a powerful matriarch and widow of a Wesleyan minister. See also the footnote on Elizabeth Roberts' subjects below.

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List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
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Elizabeth Roberts' transcripts (unofficial sources):

Mrs D2B 1896, Barrow-in-Furness	?	Father a shipwright, later worked in an office. Brother a Sunday School Superintendent.	WC to MC/O.
Mrs P2B 1902, Barrow-in-Furness	?	Father a boilermaker at Vickers. Mother prior to marriage a domestic servant "for high class people".	WC/RF.
* Mrs R1B 1889, Barrow-in-Furness	?	Father Berthing Master at Ramsden Dock. Uncles LPs.	MC/O.
Mrs M3P 1898, York – moved to Preston 1905.	?	Father worked on docks, rose to be Head Inspector.	WC to MC/RF.
* Mr C1P 1884, Preston	?	Father a goods porter in Lancs Yorks railway. Rose to be inspector.	WC to MC/RF.
Mrs B2P 1916, Preston	W	Father a labourer, often ill and jobless, mother opened a small shop at home selling pies and cakes.	WC/RF.

* As adults, these subjects were atheists. But, since this study concentrates upon their childhood experiences, for the purposes of this research they are considered as members of Methodist families.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
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Magazine biographies (official sources) – the majority of which are short obituaries. In some cases date of birth is not apparent, so instead, the date of death is given. In the cases where the subjects are still living, and date of birth is not apparent, then the publication year of the magazine is given. Frequently no detail of secular occupation or family background is available. Though in some instances the category of subject may be unclear, his/her appearance in Connexional literature strongly suggests that, if not from a ministerial family, s/he belongs to those connected closely to the chapel, namely, the “officer” category. Since these subjects appear in Connexional publications, their data have been considered as reflecting Officialdom’s view for the purposes of this research. Consequently, their categorisation and social class is considered to be less relevant to this research than that of unofficial subjects.

Baldwin, Mrs 1792, Stourport	W	Son-in-law a minister.	MC/M. Subject prominent in chapel - class leader, superintendent of girls’ Sunday School.
Ball, Mrs Lancaster d.1899	W		MC/M. Minister’s wife.
Banks, Eliza 1809	W	Daughter of a government official. Husband LP.	MC/O.
Bargate, Elizabeth 1780, Eastgate, Co. Durham.	W	Appears to be comfortably off farming family – owned large farm at Eastgate. Husband LP.	MC/O.
Blunt, Eliza Jane 1855, Cradley	W		?/O.
Botterell, H B 1814, Liskeard, Cornwall.	W		? /M. Subject a minister.
Brown, Robert 1800, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	PM	Father a minister	MC/M. Subject in business.
Burd, William b. 1801, Ellesmere, Shropshire.	W		MC/O. In (unspecified) trade. Also holder of municipal offices. Class-leader, society and circuit steward.
Carr, Mary c.1850.	PM		?/O. Subject a class leader.
Day, Hannah 1799, Tadcaster, Yorks.	PM	Husband a minister	MC/M
Drake, Mary 1790, Uppingham?	W		?/O
Featherstone, Mary 1812, Whitby, Yorks.	W		?/O
Fenwick, Thomas 1818, Causey Row.	PM		?/O. Subject LP.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Flesher, Jane E 1800,Scarborough	PM	Late husband a minister. Nature of father's business unspecified, but subject and husband enjoyed private income in their later years.	MC/M.
Fox, William 1810, Clown, Derbys.	PM	Father a currier.	WC to MC/O. Subject a medical botanist and LP.
Henry, James d.1854.	W		MC/M. Subject a minister.
Herdman, Mrs W M 1876, Motherwell.	PM		?/O. Both she and husband active in chapel.
Howarth, Elias 1821, Bolton?	PM		WC/O. Subject a collier and Sunday-School teacher.
Howorth, James 1793, Hempsteads, Bacup.	W		MC/O. Subject class leader, chapel benefactor.
Howorth, Mrs 1801, Rochdale	W		MC/O. Subject wife of above.
Hunter, Florence A 1902, Howdon-on-Tyne.	PM		?/O. Subject a Sunday-School teacher.
Jackson, Mrs 1820, Toddington in Luton Circuit.	W	Husband and father ministers.	MC/M.
Kendall, Lucy d.1889?m.1890	PM		?/O. Described as one of "guiding lights" of chapel.
Kirkland, Sarah Mercaston, Derbys.	PM		MC/M. First woman PM itinerant 1794, preacher Worked on own small dairy farm after death of first husband.
Langden, Henry 1782, Sheffield	W	Son of prominent churchman.	MC/O. Subject engaged in business. LP, class leader.
Livington, John 1821, ?	W		?/M. Subject a minister.
Marsh, Joseph 1787, Cobridge, Staffs.	W	Parents in "respectable circumstances".	MC/M. Subject a minister.
Norton, John Hutchinson 1812, Grantham.	W		MC/M. Subject was successful in business before becoming a minister.
Palmer, Henry d.1899?m.1890	PM		?/O. LP.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

NAME DOB,POB	D	FAMILY BACKGROUND	SOCIAL CLASS/ CATEGORY AND COMMENTS
Peadon, Joseph d. 1868, ?.	PM		?/O
Petch, W d.1919, ?	PM		WC/O. Subject a joiner and builder. LP.
Roland, Mrs d.1919.m.1920.	PM		?/O.
Scott, Anne 1855, Crook, Tyne Dock, Co. Durham.	W		?/O. Sunday-School teacher.
Sharpe, Elizabeth 1820, Shinfield nr Reading.	PM	Husband a minister.	?/M.
Sheale, Mary 1836, Helmsley, Yorks,	PM	Father a teacher. Husband a minister.	MC/M. Subject a teacher prior to marriage.
Skinner, Mrs m.1925.	PM	Husband prominent in commerce and local politics. Vice-President of Conference 1925.	MC/O
Smith, Alice 1803, Bolton.	W	Husband LP.	?/O.
Stephenson, Charlotte 1863,Newcastle-on-Tyne	W		MC/O. Subject former Mayoress of Newcastle, Sunday-School teacher and holder of other chapel offices.
Sullings, S J d.1915.	W		?/M. Subject a minister
Taylor, George 1799, Hatfield, Doncaster circuit.	PM		MC/O. Subject a tradesmen.
Temperton, Mrs d.1894.m.1895.	PM	Husband a minister.	?/M.
Timbury, George 1820, Wallingford.	PM		?/M. Subject an itinerant preacher.
Toyn, J	PM		WC to MC/O. Subject Cleveland miners' leader. Magistrate. Class leader, LP.
Turner, George 1850, Doncaster.	W		?/O Subject class leader and member of Circuit committees.
Wilson, Caroline 1830, Salop.	PM	Husband a minister.	?/M. Subject class leader.

APPENDIX III

List of Subjects

TOTALS

1. Of those employed as "unofficial" subjects in the thesis:

Analysed by denomination:

Wesleyan – 49
Primitive Methodist – 11
Methodist New Connexion – 1
United Free Methodist – 1
United Methodist – 1
Denomination unclear – 14

Analysed by Methodist category:

"Ministerial" – 25
"Officer" – 30
"Rank-and-file" – 22

Analysed by gender:

Men – 59
Women – 13
Family biographies – 5

GRAND TOTAL - 77

2. Of those employed as "official" subjects in the thesis:

Analysed by denomination:

Wesleyan – 22
Primitive Methodist – 23

Analysed by Methodist category:

Ministerial – 18
"Officer" – 27

Analysed by gender:

Men – 20
Women – 25

GRAND TOTAL - 45

APPENDIX IV

Childbirth Deaths, 1847 - 1903

Year	No. of Childbirth Deaths	No of Childbirth deaths per 1000 live births
1847	3200	6.00
1861	3000	4.30
1871	4000	4.90
1881	4200	4.80
1891	-	4.70
1901	4400	4.80
1903	3800	4.03

Source : Dr. William Farr, *Lancet* (hereafter *L*), 11th August 1860, p.138; Parliamentary Papers, 1884-5, vol.XVII, p.1xxiii; Dr. Thursfield, *L* , 7th Jan.1893, p21; Janet M Campbell, *Maternal Morality* (1924), p.3; J.W.B. Douglas & G. Rowntree, *Maternity in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1948), p.36.

All figures quoted in F.B. Smith, *The People's Health 1830-1910* (1990) p.13.

APPENDIX V

Infant Death Rate, England and Wales, 1851-1912 (per 1,000 live births)

Year	Death rates
1851-5	156
1856-60	150
1861-5	151
1866-70	157
1871-5	153
1876-80	144
1881-5	139
1886-90	145
1891-5	151
1896-1900	156
1901-5	138
1906-10	117
1911-1912	113

Source : B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 36-37. Adapted from a table taken from F.B. Smith, *The People's Health 1830-1910* (1990), p. 65.

APPENDIX VI

Average Infant Mortality in London, 1901-3

<i>London District</i>	<i>Infant deaths per thousand live births</i>
Bermondsey	147
Camberwell	136
Chelsea	143
Finsbury	166
Hackney	131
Hammersmith	136
Hampstead	92
Holborn	115
Poplar	157
Shoreditch	186
Southwark	160
Stepney	156
St Marylebone	145
St Pancras	145
Westminster	123
Woolwich	120

Source : E. W. Hope, *Report on the Physical Welfare of Mothers and Children*, (Carnegie UK Trust, 1917) I, 212. Taken from Ellen Ross, 'Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working-class Mothers 1870-1918' in J Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love : Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1940* (1986) p. 81.

APPENDIX VII

Proportion of Deaths by Age and Class

Age	Gentry and Professional Persons	Farmers Tradesmen and Persons Similarly Circumstanced	Agricultural and Other Labourers, Artisans and Servants
40-50	1 in 16	1 in 13	1 in 18
50-60	1 in 12	1 in 14	1 in 20
60-70	1 in 6	1 in 12	1 in 18
70-80	1 in 6	1 in 14	1 in 23
80-90	1 in 10	1 in 29	1 in 43
90+	1 in 115	1 in 122	1 in 338

Source : Edwin Chadwick, 'On the best Modes of representing Accurately . . . the Duration of Life . . . amongst different Classes of the Community', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol VII (1844), pp. 4-16.

Taken from F.B. Smith, *The People's Health 1830-1910* (1990) p. 320.

APPENDIX VIII

Indoor Paupers over the age of 65

Year	Non-able-bodied	Total pop. over 65	As % of pop. over 65
1851	34,800	21,500	3.00
1861	51,000	29,400	3.20
1871	68,500	38,500	3.60
1881	88,300	n.a.	n.a.
1891	98,500	59,600	4.30
1901	109,700	76,100	5.00

n.a. = not available

Source : K Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, (1981), pp. 204-5.
Taken from Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History : Past Experiences, Present Issues* (2000), p172.

APPENDIX IX

Social Structure of London Methodism, 1841-1930 (marriage and baptismal registers)

	n =	I	II	III	IV	V
		%	%	%	%	%
Weslyan Methodism 1841-70	124 6	4	32	50	10	5
1871-1900	206 7	7	34	41	13	6
1901-30	343 3	6	39	39	13	5
Primitive Methodism 1841-70	384	1	13	44	17	25
1871-1900	660	2	17	46	20	16
1901-30	877	3	29	43	18	8

Source : Taken from Clive D Field, "The Social Structure of English Methodism : Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries" , *British Journal of Sociology*, 28,2 (June 1977), p 208.

APPENDIX X

**Social Structure of Primitive Methodism in the Oxford Circuit,
1841-1940 (Baptismal Registers)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>n =</i>	I	II	III	IV-V
		%	%	%	%
1841-60	141	2	13	34	51
1861-80	280	0	15	31	54
1881-1900	127	0	17	28	55
1901-20	134	0	20	31	49
1921-40	86	1	16	49	34

Source : Taken from Clive D Field, "The Social Structure of English Methodism : Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries" , *British Journal of Sociology*, 28,2 (June 1977), p 208.

APPENDIX XI

Measles Mortality Rate, England and Wales, 1838-1910 (per 100,000 living)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Rate</i>
1838-42	53.9
1847-52	40.3
1856-60	42.5
1866-70	42.8
1876-80	38.5
1886-90	46.8
1896-1900	42.1
1901-5	32.7
1906-10	29.1

Source : *PP*, 1916, vol V, p. 60; *PP*, 1914-16, vol XI, pp. cviii-cx; B.A. Whitelegge, 'Changes in Type in Epidemic Disease', *Lancet*, 4 Mar. 1893, p.459; C. Killick Mallard, 'The Notification of Measels', *Royal Institute of of Public Health, Aberdeen Congress*, 1900, p. 275. Taken from F B Smith, *The People's Health* (1990), p. 143.

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Others:

Letter from Marie-Clare Balaam to J D S Williams 12 April 2001.

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